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An Anthropological Examination of Family Structures in Canadian Historical Context

by

Joan Evelyn Popp

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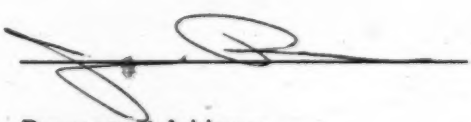

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Abstract

Using a set of ideal-type models developed by Emmanuel Todd who posits a relationship between family structure and the values that inform the working out in practice of political ideology, this thesis examines and analyzes selected practices of Highland Scots, French-Canadian and English colonists and their descendants in rural Canadian contexts. The findings of this study indicate that the family structures of these three groups appear to have conformed in most respects to three of the ideal-types identified by Todd although systematic variations in practices within each of these groups that emerged or attained prominence in Canada over time suggests that the weight or emphasis placed on specific values associated with each of the ideal-type family structures was not static or uniform. In order to facilitate the application of Todd's analytical approach in contemporary settings recommendations for improvements to these models to correct identified deficiencies have been made; as have specific suggestions for the variables that may be of more salience in post-industrial societies than are those considered to be reliable in agrarian societies.

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Introduction

The obvious changes in the patterns of immigration over the past thirty years, and the debates about Canada's multiculturalism policies during the last decade, have raised numerous issues and questions at the popular level about the actual and potential impact that these new ethnocultural collectivities have already had or will have on what are perceived to be core Canadian values and institutions. While media coverage tends to concentrate on the difficulties that both members of new immigrant groups and the members of the dominant cultural groups have experienced in adjusting to one another, particularly with respect to race, neither they nor those who have engaged in more academic and theoretical debates, have defined or debated to any extent just why or how the values of immigrant groups differ from, or are perceived to differ from those of resident Canadians (Frideres, 1992: 65). Part of the problem is that given the reality of what is referred to as French/English dualism, and the regional and cultural heterogeneity of Canada as a whole any attempt to debate this issue immediately calls into question the validity or utility of referring to Canadian values. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the evolution of historical Canadian family structures to determine what if any values Canadians hold in common.

While information about overt cultural values - peoples' beliefs about what is desirable and the optimal means of achieving these goals is relatively easy to find, as is information on the relationship between these values and their sense of order, authority and justice, it is less easy to find satisfactory explanations of why Canadians have the values they do. Many such explanations involve some variation of Lipset's thesis which posits that Canadians' commitment to a set of values which include collectivism, particularism, elitism, and acceptance of established authority, originated in the rejection of the American Revolution by British nationals, including American Loyalists, and a similar rejection of the French Revolution by the Quebec elite, although the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's perhaps better represents the views of ordinary Quebecers (Baer, et al, 1993:14; Lipset, 1986: 146).

What is problematic about this explanation is that with the exception of a relatively small number of Quebec inhabitants, and the small population of the

maritime provinces, none of the people who settled in Canada in the immediate aftermath of the American Revolution were self-consciously Canadian nor were they a homogenous group although most of them had ties to the British Isles. It was only during the process of adapting and adjusting to life in the colonies that most people began to perceive of Canada as their home, and it was during this period that the principles and values that would shape the Canadian the political system emerged.

The central role that some practice theorists give to the highly patterned and routinized activities and interactions of domestic life suggests that the systematic examination of the families that live within a society might prove to be a fruitful way of identifying and accounting for differences as well as similarities in values not only within but also between states. From a practice perspective, routine or habitual practices are predicated upon and embody within themselves the fundamental notions of temporal, spatial, and social ordering that underlie and organize social systems as a whole. The practice-based models elaborated by anthropologists Pierre Bourdieu (1972) and Marshall Sahlins (1981), do not divide social systems into units such as base and superstructure or culture and society as their intention is to explain systems as an integral whole by referring them to practice (Ortner, 1984: 148). Essentially these models provide a framework for apprehending both how human systems are reproduced and how, during the process of reproduction change occurs either as people change their practices or reinterpret them in response to changed circumstances (Ortner, 1984: 158, 159; Karp, 1986: 133). To demonstrate how a social system may be changed by practice and how practice reproduces a social system ideally requires a long-term diachronic approach. To this end this thesis will refer to the analytic approach of French anthropologist Emmanuel Todd.

Todd has developed a set of ideal-type models which while not conforming to a practice approach, do provide a systematic way of looking at these issues. Todd's central thesis in *The Explanation of Ideology* (1985) is that the political or religious ideological systems that emerge as modern states are formed are everywhere the intellectual embodiment of family structure of the masses; that each generation absorbs those parental values which define elementary human relationships, and that the power of this reproductive mechanism lies in the fact that it does not need to be conscious or expressed

since it is automatic and has its own internal logic (1985:12). Todd's models were developed primarily through an examination of established populations in the Old World, including those in the British Isles; he does make reference to the New World in this work but his examination of Canada in particular is cursory. Given the usefulness of this approach, this thesis proposes to extend this analysis to Canada.

As Canada was colonized and settled by immigrants from a variety of ethnocultural backgrounds it is expected that more than one family structure was introduced to Canada by these people although it is not assumed that there is a one to one correlation between ethnocultural heritage and family structure. Guided by insights derived from practice theory which places more emphasis on the specific social setting within which practice occurs than does Todd, and using the available published historical materials collected for Scottish, English and French-speaking families in Canada for the period that spans the decades between 1760 and 1890, but concentrating on the seventy years between 1820 and 1890, I will systematically examine data on selected practices of families within these groups, in order to identify areas of continuity and change in underlying principles and values that informed these practices. Particular attention is given to the latter seventy years of this period as it was during this time that both the direct and indirect effects of the industrial revolution began to be experienced in Canada. In addition, as it can be assumed that these families evolved in different ways as they adjusted to the Canadian context and that there will be some variation within each group, I will look for points or areas where underlying principles or values appear to converge as well as where they diverge. Since comprehensive historical investigation of the family lives of many of the groups who settled in Canada, particularly in American Loyalist communities, have not yet been done, I will not attempt here to link the patterning of values underlying the practices and behaviours of these families with actual political developments during this period.

The current concerns expressed in some aspects of the public discourse about the potential influence that the changing ethnocultural composition of Canada might have on what are perceived to be core values and institutions cannot be effectively addressed without reference to the the content and the historical emergence of those values and institutions. As the family, whatever

form it takes or wherever it is located in time and space reproduces values as well as people, it follows that an examination of the family structures and practices of historic Canadian families, using the analytic frame provided by Emmanuel Todd, may provide some insight into these issues.

Data and Methodological Issues

The data upon which this thesis is based are drawn from published secondary sources generated by historians and sociologists as well anthropologists. While the disciplinary interests and theoretical and interpretive approaches used by these authors are diverse, and influenced to some extent the nature of the data that were collected and described, they do provide the material required for an exploratory comparative study.

Some imbalances do exist in the quality and availability of the type of historical Canadian source material relevant to this study, however. While literature on French Canadian families from the eighteenth century onward is relatively abundant and includes some ethnographic analyses, historical materials focussing on or even referring to family structures and practices of "British" families are limited and many of the data are not as reliable for two reasons. First, little research has been focussed on immigrants from the British Isles, and second many researchers subsume all four ethnocultural groups from this region under the category of English or English-speaking families.

Social historians who have taken an interest in these groups as ethnic or cultural categories are just beginning to examine the relationships and practices within families in a systematic manner. The data for Scots families, although based primarily on the work of one author are sufficiently detailed and comprehensive to be considered reliable for the specific population studied, although it cannot be stated with any certainty that the family patterns and practices of families in other Scots communities exhibited identical patterns.

The materials from which data on English families have been drawn are the most problematic. One of the studies focusses on a county, not on a specific community or communities thus these data lack the depth and detail of the other studies. More importantly, the author does not consider the relationship

between ethnic group affiliation and family structure and practices significant and thus he did not correlate differences in practice, which may have appeared to be minor, with ethnic group affiliation. Nevertheless, the references in this cluster of studies to practices, attitudes and behavioural patterns are more consistent with those noted for English families than with French-Canadian and Highland Scots families. The deficiencies in this study in terms of the lack of detail have been addressed to some extent by the inclusion of materials drawn from an historical study that details the inheritance and associated practices of the members of two Protestant Irish communities formed in Canada during the same period. The immigrants who formed these communities were themselves the descendents of English immigrants to Ireland.

Only data on rural families are included in the analysis. Although a good number of historical studies on families in urban Canada contexts have been published, the studies that include information on family budgets within co-residential households, information on intergenerational transfers, or intergenerational relations through time have yet to be done.[1] The effect of this deficiency is difficult to gauge although it can be assumed that the process of adaptation or adjustment would have been somewhat different.

Recent investigations in Europe and elsewhere by social scientists, including historians, sociologists and anthropologists suggest that major local variations in family types within specific countries or regions are not uncommon (Berkner, 1976; Saller and Kertzer, 1991: 4).[2] For example, at least three distinct family forms have been identified for France, two for Germany and Spain, possibly four in Italy and so on. That being the case knowledge of the country/region of origin alone is often an insufficient basis for establishing the ideal-type of family structure a particular ethnocultural group would have brought to Canada. To determine this with any degree of confidence requires detailed knowledge of the specific geographical location of origin in conjunction with data on formal and informal rules and practices regarding household formation and fission and intergenerational transmission. (Berkner, 1976; Mannion, 1991; Lautman, 1976). European historical data collected by scholars from a variety of disciplines have been employed to this end. As not all of these data are complete, where necessary data from other regions whose family structure,

practices and attitudes appear to be the same are used. Some of the material included, such as work and migration patterns are not mentioned in Todd's work; however as they do express something about the relations between family members they are included.[3]

The family structure of immigrants from the United States is often difficult if not impossible to infer from census records. Many immigrants designated in official documents as Loyalist and American have turned out, on further examination, to be first-generation Americans with only a few years residence in the United States, or even former Canadians, as movement across the Canada - U.S. border tended to be very fluid until the end of the nineteenth century. Recent scholarship reveals that substantial numbers of United Empire Loyalists resided in the thirteen colonies for a only brief period prior to the Revolution, some for as little as two or three years. As well, at least some 1785 late Loyalists were Scots who had entered Canada via the United States without ever having lived there (McLean, 1991: 178).

Organization and Description of Sections

Chapter One outlines some of the theoretical issues in anthropology that provide the context for this study, a review of the relevant literature, and a clarification of some of the terms and concepts used throughout the thesis. The chief concern of the chapter is to argue that the anthropological tools and methods, which to date have been deployed, primarily, to analyze small-scale societies, should be applied to complex modern societies

Chapter Two introduces selected aspects of the colonization and settlement of Canada that provide some insight into the orientation of the social system and the adjustment process of immigrant groups. These include a comparative treatment of the general social contexts in Europe and Canada, broad demographic trends, the relationships between specific inheritance systems and migratory practices in Europe, and significantly, the widespread adoption of a form of internal migration not commonly observed among rural European populations.

Chapter Three describes Todd's models, including their development, their range of distribution, and the underlying principles informing the behaviour and practices of families within each type. Of Todd's typology of seven ideal-type family models, three are relevant to the period being examined here.

Chapter Four describes and analyzes the family practices of the each of the three ethnocultural groups: Highland Scots, French-Canadian, and English, both in their Old World and Canadian contexts, including those that Todd specifically identifies as being characteristic of specific family models, in order to ascertain if and how changes in context over space and time appear to have transformed the manner in which family relationships were structured.

Chapter Five presents a summary of findings, including a comparison of the practices of the families discussed separately in the previous chapter. The chapter includes an assessment of the value and limitations of Todd's model's for examining the relationship between the values that underlie family practices and broader political issues, as well as suggestions for future studies.

[1] Studies of urban French-Canadian families seem to indicate that there was a fairly strong degree of continuity between rural and urban families in some respects.. However historical analyses of non-French-speaking urban families tend to place more emphasis on socioeconomic class, than on ethnic origin, the latter often only mentioned if there is an obvious relationship between the two.

[2] Saller and Kertzer in "Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on Italian Family Life," in *The Family in Italy*, D. Kertzer and R. Saller (eds.), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), P. 4 also note that separate social groups living in the same communities in Italy are often characterized by different family systems. They seem to be referring to the physical form rather than ideal form. As Jack Goody points out in *The Oriental, The Ancient, and the Primitive*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) P. 226, the practices of lower groups within a particular community interlock with various other aspects of their social life and represent a partially accepted fact of their existence. When circumstances change for the better, they often attempt to adapt their institutions to the higher groups. In one Italian example, described by L. Tittarelli, "Choosing a Spouse Among Nineteenth-Century Central Italian Share-croppers," in *The Family in Italy*, D. Kertzer and R. Saller (eds.), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), P. 280-281, large extended households of share-cropper co-existed with smaller nuclear family households of lower-status agricultural labourers. Nevertheless, when the economic circumstances of agricultural labourers improved, they typically formed extended household units that resembled those of the share-cropper.

[3] Nineteenth century sociologist Frederic Le Play, whose work Todd drew on in constructing his models, did comment on the relationship between family structure and migration or emigration patterns. See *On Family, Work and Social Change*, edited and translated with an introduction by Catherine Silver (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982). The works included in this volume were originally published between 1855 and 1879 and were based on empirical studies undertaken by Le Play between 1829 and 1855.

Chapter One

Anthropological Theory and Issues

Introduction

Because family and kinship are not central mechanisms of social placement in modern nation states, most scholars and critics who examine issues related to the ordering of society, including political forms, processes and ideologies within and between states, do not consider that the relations between or within families living in the societies they study to be either necessary or useful.

The notion that family life consists of natural functions which are affected by but do not have an effect on wider social processes in industrializing or modern societies that gained currency after the first part of the twentieth century has only gradually been modified during the last three decades. One of the most influential modernization theories was put forward by Talcott Parsons (1943). Parsons' view was that the process of industrialization fragments the family, first by cutting it off from its kinship network and then by reducing the size of the domestic group to that of a small nuclear family which loses its productive, political and religious functions and becomes a simple unit of residence and consumption.

As recently as twenty years ago, many anthropologists would likely have agreed with this view; however, ongoing cross-cultural research has clearly shown that the adoption of Western political forms by non-Western societies, and the penetration of capitalism, have not produced political ideologies that are identical to those found in the West, nor have they produced the expected changes in family and kinship relations although these have not been untouched. These findings suggest that the anthropological notion that one cannot adequately describe a political system without taking into account the web of interpersonal relations of kinship may be as valid for nation-state as it is for non-state societies (Yanagisako: 1979: 195).[1]

Family and Kinship Studies in Anthopology

Most anthropological analyses of state societies, whatever the type of state under discussion or the intellectual approach used, have tended to stress the importance of kinship relations. The question of the relative importance of the existence, in a political system, of kinship relations and those which are dependent on non-kinship ties is tremendously variable and historically specific and must therefore be empirically determined. Anthropology's sister discipline, sociology, shares this interest in kinship-state relations. However while sociological approaches generally emphasize how state policies promote a particular form of family or household relations, anthropologists are more inclined to focus on the interrelations between kinship structures and state structures in order to emphasize the mutually determining nature of kinship-state relations, rather than assuming the process of determination is always unidirectional, i.e. from the state to the family (Moore, 1988;184). Traditionally this approach has been used when studying small-scale, culturally homogeneous societies or groups within a state. Other researchers who have adopted an anthropological approach in studying the relationships between family transformation and macro-social change in culturally homogeneous socialist states have stressed this as well.[2]

The examination of the relationship between political ideologies and kinship, or even cultural ideologies within (with the exception of nationalism) and between democratic states is a relatively unexplored domain however, although it is widely recognized that liberal democracy assumes different forms in different national settings (Douglas, 1986; 50). While some initial comparative anthropological studies have been done, these have tended to be focussed on highlighting differences between the working out of democracy in complex egalitarian and hierarchical societies, with the entire range of western democracies subsumed under the category of egalitarian. The work of examining differences between Western democracies has largely been left to other disciplines.[3] This work suggests that differences between the national character and belief systems of Canadians and Americans, for example, arise from the nature of the American democratic revolution individualistic, egalitarian and universalist belief system. Canada, on the other hand, is represented as

being founded on a counter-revolutionary rejection of these values and ideas and a commitment to collectivism, particularism, elitism and an acceptance of established authority (Lipset, 1986: 146). The Canadian, rather than purely British, character of this belief system is attributed to the attempt to apply political concepts developed in Britain and the United States to the sizable, historically prior, regionally entrenched and feudally organized French-Canadian minority that also rejected, because of its conservative nature, the principles of a revolution, the French Revolution.

While the characterization of beliefs and values at the national level are not wholly inaccurate, examination of issues of historical continuity do not appear to be entirely consistent. The American revolution did not represent a sudden, dramatic, all-encompassing revolutionary change from an aristocratic to a democratic society, but was, rather, an elaboration and expansion of a liberal philosophy articulated in Britain during the previous century, and which arguably had its roots in the Magna Carta. In the case of Canada, however, continuity seems to be assumed, largely because Canada adopted a British form of parliamentary government in 1867, and retained colonial ties with Britain longer. This is to ignore that Canada, from an early date displayed a certain independence of spirit in the manner in which British directives were interpreted. Likewise, with regard to Quebec, the fact that the principles of the French Revolution emerged out of the feudally organized French state is also ignored. In addition, although the French Canadian elite did not formally embrace the principles of the French Revolution during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, recent analyses indicating that the French-speaking population of Quebec are more liberal than either English-speaking Canadians or Americans suggests the possibility that this rejection was a pragmatic rather than an ideological response to immediate historical events, and that had they not been preoccupied with relations with the British government and the flood of Loyalist settlers, they may have been predisposed to accept them (Baer et al: 1993: 28).

An approach that takes into account the actual family relationships of the different groups of people who settled Canada, in conjunction with an examination of the organizational and evaluative schemes embodied within institutional, symbolic and material forms, may contribute to a fuller understanding of the working out of democracy in Canada. The findings derived

from this type of approach may, in addition, shed some light on the ongoing disagreements and conflicts between the Quebecois and the rest of Canada, and other regional conflicts as well. It is anthropologists' attempt to view systems from ground level, and the capacity to see "otherness" in Western as well as non-Western cultures, that puts its researchers in a position to see people not simply as undifferentiated passive reactors to and enactors of some system but as actively involved in creating their own history (Ortner, 1988: 143).

To date no systematic attempt has been made by anthropologists to analyze these interrelationships in Canada as a whole. This is partly because the study of complex societies was not, until recently, considered to be either appropriate or interesting from a disciplinary perspective; partly because the notion of doing such a study in a country where the family structures of that section of the population classified as English or English-speaking are clearly not homogeneous makes the possibility of doing justice to complex issues seem remote; and partly because the framework needed to make such an analysis possible was not available.

The more recent acknowledgement by anthropologists that societal and cultural processes cannot be understood apart from their historical context clearly points to the need for studies of these issues. This work is critical not only for the purposes of acheiving a better understanding of the values that inform what can broadly be conceived of as political behaviour or the working out in practice of political ideals, but for the comparative perspective that such an anthropological approach can bring to bear on these issues.

Some social scientists assert that it is not possible or desirable to make meaningful generalizations about families in Canada given the ethnic, religious, linguistic and socio-economic diversity of the population. However, as noted by Strathern (1992a: 28), we are dealing with people who themselves make generalizations, who imagine that they are part of large collectivities, who act with reference to what they assume to be widespread norms, and thus who are to some degree preoccupied with what they take to be a relationship between the particular and the general.

It is a trueism in social science that the family system or systems in any society are the result of a long process of evolution, involving complex interactions between factors and forces of uniformity, that is, industrialization and urbanization, and factors and forces of diversity, normally conceived of as ethnicity and local and regional historical circumstances and events (Ishwaran, 1976: 23). Thus it is reasonable to assume that some degree of variation exists across time and space within every society and particularly within modern nation states. Efforts to determine the actual, as opposed to perceived, extent of this variation with respect to family structure, not to mention its relevance to other levels of social organization in Canada have been hindered by the fact that ethnicity or ethnocultural heritage tends to be viewed as a main, if not the major source of difference, between families.

Many published studies explore issues of continuity and change in the families of various ethnocultural groups who immigrated to Canada at or since the turn of the century.[4] These studies invoke to varying degrees, implicitly or explicitly, the dominant Canadian family model in its French- or English-speaking variant as a standard of comparison. What is not clear however, is what fundamental principles or values, if any, distinguish the Canadian family from other Western forms of family, although subtle differences in attitude and orientation are frequently cited.

Existing Comparative Literature

Researchers recognize that a plurality of ethnocultural groups co-resided in Canada from a very early period. The impact of this diversity in terms of political attitudes and ideology is not well charted, however, as the major distinction that has been made is between the French-speaking and English-speaking portions of the population. Early historical comparisons between French and British families are misleading for two interrelated reasons. First, although distinctions were made between English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish immigrant groups, the assumption has been that the values and norms that they shared by virtue of the fact that they were British subjects were more important than differences in values and norms (Nett, 1988: 98). This smoothing over of differences has been facilitated by the fact that both the colonial and early

Canadian governments made similar assumptions, and because of the early political dominance of English-speaking groups, English law and the adoption of a British system of parliamentary government. The fact that many early prominent Canadian politicians and leaders were Scottish or Irish in origin, not English, can be seen as significant only if the differences as well as similarities between the values and attitudes of the two groups are explicitly recognized (Bumsted, 1980; Lowe, 1958: 195). Second, comparisons between French and British families were necessarily implicit, since until relatively recently virtually nothing was known about the "British" family or the families of those subsumed under that classification, although assumptions about its nature were widespread (Ishwaran, 1976: 39). Third, although studies of French Canadian families have been undertaken since the late nineteenth century, which when taken together indicate some degree of variation in practices over time and space, only those families whose practices were taken to be congruent with the political structure in Quebec were assumed to be typical (Verdon, 1980: 105-106).

The basically authoritarian and patriarchal political structure of Quebec until the mid-twentieth century has been assumed to be a reflection of the traditional *habitant* family structure described by French sociologists Gauldree-Boilleau and Leon Gerin (1964) in the late nineteenth century. That the provincial political structure may not have reflected the values and attitudes of the popular classes, but may have been related to the status of French Canada as a minority was not considered, although evidence of resistance or opposition to the government of Quebec was apparent from an early date.[5] As well, in the mid-nineteenth century, an increase in the political power of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec coincided with the world-wide ultramontanist reorganization of that institution, characterized by a renewed emphasis on hierarchy and authority, in Canada and elsewhere (Gaffield, 1987: 154).

More recent historical studies of Canadian families on the other hand, while adhering for the most part to the French-British distinction, have tended to emphasize the similarities in household composition and family practices of French and British families during the nineteenth century.[6] One author, basing his conclusions on a comparison of behavioural and statistical data, has

suggested that both French and English-speaking families conformed to a North American "frontier" variant of the nuclear family (Bouchard, 1983: 49-52). The authors of some newly published longitudinal community histories have been more sensitive in addressing cultural differences and the tendency on the part of authors to minimize differences, especially where it is observed that the effects or consequences of disparate practices or behaviours are negligible, is of less concern, as the data upon which they have based their interpretations are described in relatively good detail.

Analytical Framework

Anthropologists have developed numerous models and analytic frameworks to examine and analyze the relationships between kinship structures and political structures and ideals in small-scale and non-Western societies. While all of these models have their strengths, the set models developed by Emmanuel Todd provide a way of looking at these relationships that is more analytically and comparatively rigorous.

Emmanuel Todd's developmentof a set of analytic models assistance in explain the influence that unacknowledged ideas about the desirable governance of family life, may have on the working out in practice of political ideologies. Todd's basic premise is that in spite of the apparent ethnographic diversity of family forms, there are actually a limited number of ways that family relations can be combined. Using comparative and statistical data on the forms of intergenerational transmission and inheritance, which do not themselves determine family relations but are, in agricultural societies, visible manifestations of the relations between family members, ideal post-marital residence patterns, rules and conventions regarding marriage and spouse selection, he constructed a typology of seven ideal-type family models.

These models provide a way of looking at family structures and the ideological systems they produce, in terms of sets of relationships, in a manner that does not lead to the characterization of an entire civilization or part of a civilization in terms of a single value or single pair of values. The value of this approach is that it can lead to an understanding of why a commitment to a particular political doctrine or set of concepts does not generate identical social

systems. In western societies in particular, recognition that different value systems might underlie the political systems of different regions has been clouded by the use of identical terminology.[7]

Use of Ideal-Type Models in Anthropology

As the use of ideal-type models is a somewhat contentious issue in anthropology, the merits and limitations of these models in general are addressed here; those that are of relevance to Todd's models are dealt with in Chapter Five.

The examination and analysis of the ways of life and beliefs of people traditionally studied by anthropologists, and of people who are distanced from us by time, rather than or in addition to, language or technology, necessarily involves a process of comparison as well as translation or interpretation. If, as anthropologists argue, no social practice has a meaning apart from the total system of which it is a part, then a method is needed for comparing approximate wholes, whether the wholes being compared are families, interest groups, or societies.

Ideal-type models offer a solution to the problem of developing a comparative vocabulary that allows for the detection of crucial differences that underlie apparent similarities as well as the opposite - the detection of similarities where few or none seem to exist. As representations of social wholes, systemic models provide a principled method for deciding what social practices are, and thus for determining which practices of different groups or societies are comparable (Collier, 1988: 252).

The construction of ideal-types or typologies are of particular value in analyzing family forms and values in a society created by a diversity of immigrants, making it possible to illuminate shared aspects of practice and belief that might remain obscure if ethnocultural heritage or origins only are used as the bases for comparison, or conversely to shed some light on how, over time new ideas come to be incorporated.

Of course all typologies and taxonomies have limitations, one of which is that they tend to present a relatively static picture of reality (Morgan ,1985: 63). Ideally, therefore, models should include a description of the possibilities for change inherent in the system (Collier, 1988: 248).

An equally valid problem is that any historical group is too complex for all its aspects to be analyzed using an ideal-type model. Not all of the experiences from which people draw their understandings can be considered in constructing models, thus what is being highlighted is a partial representation. As well, all historical groups live surrounded by other peoples whose actions influence them, at times reinforcing ideas and values, and at others transforming them (Collier, 1988: 249). This notwithstanding, models are not representations of self-evident truths, but a means of systematically answering specific questions.

Finally, ideal-type models often group together in the same category peoples whose similarities are limited to one or two features, without providing any method for analyzing important distinctions that may exist (Leach; 1966: 4; Collier, 1988; 248-49).

Clarification of Concepts and Terms

Family

The definition of family that is used throughout this thesis corresponds to that listed in the *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology*:

> A core group of closely related, cooperating kin, encompassing two or more generations,whose members (affines excluded) are prohibited from sexual relations (Winthrop, 1991:115).

Family Structure

The term family structure as it is used here should not be confused or conflated with household structure or the physical composition of a particular family or group of families, a distinction that is not always understood or at least not clearly delineated by many historians. The mere presence or absence of a

particular person in a household or domestic group reveals little about his or her structural position with respect to inter- and intragenerational or conjugal relations. Family structure refers to the largely unconscious and unexpressed manner in which elementary relations within the family group are organized.

Classification of Inheritance Systems

In most of the social science literature dealing with intergenerational transfers of property/status, the primary distinction made is between those in which the parental estate is transferred intact to one heir and those in which all heirs participate in the division of the estate. The former system is classed as impartible, the latter partible. While this system of classification appears to be straightforward, as it is derived primarily from the writings of legal historians whose interests have tended to be somewhat narrowly defined, it cannot assume that practices that appear on the surface to be identical, and/or which may have the same general effect, are understood in the same manner by all the people employing them.

Intergenerational transmission

A law code by itself does not determine practices as laws must be interpreted. Anthropological literature provides ample evidence of the manner in which rules imposed by a legal system, foreign or otherwise, may be manipulated to conform with customary practices.[8] Inheritance and other intergenerational transmissions have a legal aspect, a customary aspect and a behavioural aspect, and the three need not correspond (Berkener, 1976: 71). The devising of an estate on a single heir, for example, has little meaning unless it is known whether or not provision has already been made for non-heirs; what the nature of those provisions are; and whether a distinction is made between landed and other forms of property. Transfers of landed and moveable property or other social goods to descendants prior to retirement or death as well as the timing and nature of such transfers, must therefore be attended to in order to attain an adequate understanding of the relationships among family members.

Timing

Examination of inter-vivos transfers of parental property by deed of gift or sale, and rental agreements which allow a descendant to accumulate funds needed to purchase land also need to be taken into account when examining systems of transmission. In most regions transmission of parental property occurred on more than one occasion. The timing of the transmission of parental property and whether transmission involves usufruct rights or actual transfer of control provide some indication of relations of dependence and independence (or authority and liberty) when other factors, such as the organization of labour and decision-making processes within the family are taken into account (Goody, 1976: 2; Brettell, 1991: 350-351).

[1] The anthropological study of kinship has traditionally been divided into three broad areas: group structure (descent and residence), alliance (relations through marriage), and classification of relatives, which, when taken together are understood to constitute the essence of social structure (Barnard, 1994: 783).

[2]. Sociologist Judith Stacey concludes in *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution*(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), Pp. 259-260, that the successes and limitations of the Chinese revolution are the outcome of the interdependence of patriarchy and socialism. The Chinese family did not merely resist or adapt to state policies, but family structures, both social and ideological, helped to shape the nature of state-inspired social transformations. Family change was neither a dependent nor independent variable, but was "inseparable from the general causes, processes, and outcomes of the socialist revolution".

[3] Anthropologists have not totally ignored these kinds of studies. David Schneider, in *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*, (Engelwood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), noted similarities among the symbolic structures of the domains of American kinship, nationality and religion. Similarly Alan Macfarlane, *The Culture of Capitalism*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), explored the mental, moral and emotional structure of capitalism as it developed in England.

[4] See for example the volumes edited by K. Ishwaran, *Canadian Families: Ethnic Variations* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), and *The Canadian Family*, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976). Systematic comparisons between ethnic families described in these volumes are not made.

[5] That the government of Quebec, until the 1840's was for the most-part just as British and American as it was French-Canadian, is often not recognized. Although recent historical studies have shown that prior to the mid-eighteenth century the Catholic Church had limited influence, they did acquire significantly more power after that time; especially after the public school system came under the direct control of the Catholic bishops in 1875. See, Susan Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec*, (Toronto: Gage, 1983); Cornelius Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France*, Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet No. 40,1985); and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Religion and French-Canadian Mores in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Canadian Historical Review* 52(1): 51-93.

[6] Chad Gaffield for example, in *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict*, (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987), found few differences between the French and English families he studied, although he recognized that cultural differences existed between the groups.

[7] Todd does address the issue of gender relations in his models. Although limited in some respects that will be discussed in the conclusion, his models do provide a way of looking at the opportunities that different family structures permit, on a theoretical level, for the extension of equality or autonomy to women. That the status of women in any society is not easily analyzable has been amply demonstrated by cross-cultural studies, and

most anthropologists are accordingly circumspect about making unqualified generalizations. As the factores that would have to be considered in order to test Todd's assumptions about gender relations within specific family formations are complex and merit more consideration than can be included in this study, no comprehensive examination of gender relations has been attempted.

[8] See for example, the articles by Yanagisako and Brettel in *The Family in Italy,* D. Kertzer and R. Saller (eds.), (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990). See also M. Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family,* trans. J.C. Whitehouse and S. Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Pp. 64, in which she relates the story of a Burgundian family, a region where family property was traditionally transmitted to one child, who, since being required by law to divide property equally among heirs, has in each generation subsequently reconstituted the original property.

Chapter Two

Canadian Historical Context

Introduction

Families are not isolated social groupings; they reproduce themselves within specific historical social and natural environments. Researchers must therefore take into account changes in these contexts as they may encourage or necessitate changes in family practices or the understanding and interpretation of practices, which, over time have an impact on the structure of family relationships, insofar as practice contributes to the creation and reproduction of norms and ideals.

As two of the more important aspects of the social context are the people who construct it, and the material bases necessary for any reproduction, this chapter contains some information about immigration policies in the Canadian territories and actual settlement patterns. Because two different systems of land tenure existed in Canada until the mid-nineteenth century, and as questions may arise as to whether differences in practice associated with intergenerational transmission are related to this, each system is described as well. Each of these systems generated different opportunities and constraints with respect to reproductive processes but they did not determine family practices.

What would have been perceived as differences in context or environment by the immigrants themselves would have varied according to actual country or region of origin, and with the time of emigration. Settlers from the Scottish Highlands, in the 1790's for example would have been familiar with the relative isolation and lack of village structures, although in Scotland they tended to live in nucleated settlements; settlers who emigrated forty years later from the same region and who settled in a newly opened colonization zone would likely have found the isolation more difficult to deal with. Without going into a great deal of detail, as specific customs, practices and conditions sometimes varied widely from estate to estate or province to province, as well as through time, the remainder of this chapter will outline general features of the European and Canadian social milieus. More detailed accounts of the specific

local contexts within which the Scottish, French-Canadian and Highland Scots populations were situated are provided in Chapter Four.

Immigration and Settlement

Most Canadian historians argue that an independent frontier never existed in Canada, insofar as the availability of land rarely presents itself as an unmediated fact of life (Hamilton, 1986: 50).[1] The order of penetration of non-indigenous populations into Canadian territories was generally uniform, and in most colonization zones up until the first half of the twentieth century conformed to the following pattern. First came exploiting business pioneers, often operating on an itinerant basis, then the government or governing body, organizing the territory and assisting transportation, then the permanent, usually agricultural, settler. There were exceptions of course and in some regions businesses and permanent settlers arrived simultaneously (Little, 1989: 33).

New France and Quebec

Although France had established a presence in North America in the sixteenth century for fur trade purposes, she did not begin to make a serious effort to develop her North American colony until late in the seventeenth. The primarily agricultural population of the colony grew slowly, most of the original immigrants being single landless males, and in 1763, when Britain gained control of the territory, only 65,000 inhabitants lived in New France. While the fur trade continued to be an important source of seasonal labour in some localized regions of Quebec until the collapse of the Montreal-based headquarters in 1821, Quebec's rural economy continued to be based on subsistence agriculture well into the late 1800's in most areas, although some farmers did produce for the market (Hamilton, 1986: 92).

The early colonists, most of whom are thought to have emigrated from the western provinces of France, were not culturally homogeneous, and while it is possible that colonists from specific provinces settled together, the sparseness of population combined with the vastness of the territory makes this unlikely (Wade, 1956: 18; Le Roy La Durie, 1976).

Significant non-French immigration to rural regions of Quebec did not occur until after the American Revolution as earlier prospective British and American farmers found the seigneurial system of land tenure, which the British government had left intact, objectionable. Starting in the 1780's some 2,000 Loyalist refugees and immigrants from New England migrated into the townships and seigneuries (Wade, 1956: 117). While it has been assumed that most of these settlers were of English or American origin, all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that most of them were English-speaking. Of those who settled and remained on seigneuries, many if not all probably became assimilated to the French-Canadian population within one to two generations through intermarriage (Noel, 1986: 163).

Seigneurial Tenure

A seigneurial system of land tenure was established in New France in 1623 by the French regime and was not abolished by the province of Canada until 1854.[2] After 1760, apart from raising rents on newly granted lands and adding restrictions that contravened the spirit of the seigneurial system, neither the French seigneurs who chose to remain in Canada or the new British and American seigneurs significantly altered the system (Little, 1991: 33; Noel, 1986).[3]

Before permanent settlements were established in the St Lawrence valley, the French Monarchy granted large fiefs to individuals and to ecclesiastical bodies who thereby became seigneurs and in a manner of speaking 'owned' the lands. These seigneurs could sell their seigneuries or leave it to their heirs. In this sense they owned the land, but they could not dispose of it as they pleased; instead they had certain limited rights over different parts of the estate (Greer, 1985: 91). According to the Edicts of Marly of 1711 and 1732, seigneurs were required to concede plots of land to any settler who requested a grant under 'common' or non-seigneurial tenure. A section of the fief could be reserved as a demesne, as long as an effort was made to clear and develop it (Greer, 1985: 91).[4]

Conceded land was not free land however. As well as annual rents and other tributes required from the date of possession, there was a surveyor's fee, the notary's charge for drawing up the deed of concession to formalize the title as well as the costs involved in clearing land, erecting buildings and so on.

Seigneurial concession was not the only way of obtaining a settlement. Farmers could purchase rotures, subject to the same annual fees as were concessions, that were still forested or only slightly developed for a low price on the edges of developed areas. This was a necessary measure for some farmers as seigneurs often delayed surveying land in new concessions for a number of years, waiting until there was enough demand to justify arranging a survey although pre-emptive squatting was not unusual (Greer, 1985: 83, 84).[5]

Holding land in the mouvance of a seigneurie, a farmer could not in theory be evicted, and his tenure was therefore permanent and secure as long as he fulfilled the conditions of the concession deed. Nevertheless, he and his land were subject to the authority of the seigneur. For example, rights of disposition were restricted by the *retrait seigneurial* (rights of expropriation) and *lods at ventes*(a fee, equivalent to 1/12th of the purchase price, paid by the buyer), and farmers were evicted if they did not meet their obligations to occupy and develop the land (Greer, 1985: 94,124).

The size of the lots granted to settlers varied from seigneurie to seigneurie although they tended to be standardized within any one fief. In 1765 for example, the size of farms in Sorel tended to cluster in the range of sixty to seventy arpents, and in the agricultural regions of the Lower Richelieu, between 100 and 149 arpents.[6] The average size of holdings in any one community could decline in size without any farm being subdivided. In specific economic circumstances, for example in regions such as Sorel, where the fur trade or ship-building industry were introduced, lots granted in new concessions were often smaller in size than those granted earlier (Greer, 1985: 190).

Farms were not completely uniform in size. However, very few farmers had less than 60 arpents or more than 250 (Greer, 1985: 20).[7] In the context of eighteenth- century Canada, these two values are generally considered to be

the lower and upper limits of a family farm; less than 50 or 60 arpents would not normally support a household while more than 250 would require more labour than a single family could handle (Greer, 1985: 21; Little, 1991: 37). In New France and until the early decades of the nineteenth century in Quebec, the nature of the land tenure system provided most families with eventual access to land (Hamilton, 1988: 50).

Canada West

Official British planning for the populating of British North America was initially indistinguishable from that of its other colonies: men disbanded from military service were to be provided with land in regions strategic to the defense of the empire. As early as 1749 and 1763, such lands were offered to disbanded men in Nova Scotia (Cowan, 1978; 4).

Following the American Revolution, the government settled Loyalists together in their military units, with groups of regimental members and their families being assigned land on the basis of ethnocultural origin or religious affiliation. The King's Royal Regiment of New York, for example, was assigned the first five townships west of the French seigneuries, the Scottish Roman Catholic and Presbyterian soldiers of the regiment were placed chiefly in the first two townships; and most of the German and English members of the regiment were settled in the next three townships to the west. Scottish Highlanders who had served in other units joined their countrymen in the first two townships eventually spilling over into a neighbouring county (Mclean, 1991: 172). Large groups of Highland Scots also settled in the maritimes, and other Loyalist groups were settled in the Niagara Peninsula. As early as 1803, land was granted to ex-military officers acting in the capacity of land agents to recruit and bring settlers to Canada.

After the War of 1812, assisted transatlantic emigration schemes, designed to populate strategic positions along the Canada-United States border were implemented(McLean, 1991: 197). This effort resulted in the establishment, mostly in Ontario, of Scottish, Irish, Welsh and English settlements. As well, 1820's and 30's land companies that had been granted or purchased large tracts of crown lands and clergy reserves in regions outside the

preferred settlement districts in Upper Canada and the Eastern Townships managed to recruit a limited number of immigrants. One German as well as a new English settlement were established in Upper Canada in this way (Elliott, 1988; 132-133). While attempts were made to attract groups of English or other British nationals to the Eastern Townships, these efforts were largely unsuccessful although a small group of English settlers did eventually settle there(Little, 1989: 46, 59).

Freehold Tenure

Apart from the territories held under seigneurail tenure until the mid-nineteenth century all other lands in Canada were conceived of as held of the Crown and not, in theory, held in full ownership by any subject. In reality, under this system of freehold tenure, the right of title to an estate in fee simple absolute entitles the owner to the entire property with unconditional power of disposition during his life and descent to his heirs and legal representatives if he died intestate. As in England, land ownership was not restricted to certain classes or estates of people although women's full rights to land were only recognized for as long as they remained single.[8]

In Upper Canada and the Eastern Townships (these included all the townships bordered by the seigneurial zone of the St Lawrence, Chaudiere, and Yamaska-Richelieu valleys) Crown land could be alienated into private hands by sale, by free grants with or without payment of fees, and by 'privileged' grants to military claimants and to United Empire Loyalists or their children. The Eastern townships were opened to settlement in the 1790's. However much of the region remained unsurveyed and in the hands of the Crown until the 1840's. Before 1826, free grants as well as military and Loyalist land grants were the thrust of government policy. During the first four decades of settlement, the imperial government compensated Loyalists, incoming settlers and public officials with grants of land, at first without survey or patent fees although an escalating scale of survey and patent fees were introduced by 1800.

The royal instructions of 1783 provided the heads of Loyalist families and discharged privates 100 acres of land for themselves and 50 acres for each

additional family member; more land was allotted in regions considered to be marginally suited for farming (McLean, 1991: 173). Single men were also allocated 50 acres, while non-commissioned officers were promised 200 acres. Commissioned officers received grants ranging between 5000 and 1,000 acres. Those who received these larger grants often leased or sold lots to later immigrants. In 1785 a policy of granting British immigrants 200 acres per family was approved.

In 1787 each Loyalist head of household was granted an additional 100 acres and two years later the grant of 200 acres was extended to their children (McLean, 1991: 179). Loyalists received their additional lands in the same township in which their first lot was located, but not usually in one consolidated holding. It was expected that these settlers would rent, sell, or provide for their children with these additional lots.

In 1796, the Executive Council of Upper Canada introduced what later came to be an escalating scale of fees, primarily for the survey and patenting of Crown land grants. By 1815 assisted immigrants and military veterans who settled in previously colonized townships received grants of land half the size received by earlier settlers (Mclean, 1991: 200).

After 1826, the New South Wales system of alienation by sale at auction was introduced in Upper Canada and the Eastern Townships in order to increase revenues and to ensure that settlers actually took up residence and improved their properties (Gagan, 1981: 22).[9] The government established a reserve bid for each lot in advance of regularily held auctions. Successful bidders were then permitted to pay for their land in annual instalments, but were required to take up residence within six months and to provide, within three years, a sworn affidavit testifying that settlement duties (clearing half a roadway on their frontage and erecting a dwelling) had been performed. In 1837 the option of instalment buying was dropped in favour of cash purchases only (Gagan, 1981: 23).

Emigration Patterns

Current research on immigration from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales at the turn of the nineteenth century highlights the importance of group and chain migration as a significant aspect of provincial emigration, with related as well as unrelated families with modest rsources emigrating and settling together over a period of several years (McLean, 1991: 213).[10]. Studies of predominantly English communities have yet to be done, although it is known that families with children migrated together from the same county. At the turn of the twentieth century this pattern of group and chain migration was replicated in the immigration and settlement patterns of European migrants (Friesen, 1988: 186, 204).

While it would be incorrect to assume that all immigrants from the same region or country who travelled to Canada together settled in the same community in Canada the evidence that immigrants who had families did so may be of significance. As these people were able to settle together in groups there is a greater possibility that changes in practice or behaviours from those noted for Europe were internally generated responses to other changes in context.

In the case of the earlier French colonists however, the historical evidence suggests that there would have been a much greater degree of variation within the population. France like most European states before the latter part of the nineteenth century was constituted of a number of linguistically and culturally distinct groups. The conditions of settlement were such, however, that these people probably formed a recognizably homogeneous group within two to three generations.

European Context

By the middle of the eighteen century or earlier, most rural regions of the British Isles and of the European continent were densely populated, with strong village networks, and increasingly specialized urban populations. In most European regions military, religious and other social institutions provided institutionalized roles for unmarried adults on either temporary or permanent

bases, and towns afforded opportunities to engage in trades and other occupations unrelated to agricultural production (Goody, 1976: 57-59). Some isolated and underpopulated regions continued to exist in many countries or regions for longer periods of time but in most of these regions political or other institutional barriers prevented the accumulation or use of land by the popular classes (Hamilton, 1986: 49).

England

While land in England could be bought, sold or rented under customary tenure, landlords began in the seventeenth century to rationalize agriculture, converting peasant land under customary tenure to leaseholds, favouring tenants with large holdings. Initially the expansion of cottage industries to supplement agricultural production actually increased the number of small holders (Wolf, 1982: 269). By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century however, enclosure of agricultural lands, which deprived small farmers of the right to use common lands, ultimately led to their demise.

In England, where massive periodic increases in mortality did not decimate the population after the fifteenth century, population growth was slow until the nineteenth century. Fertility was generally controlled by late and selective marriage and recent evidence shows a long term association between fertility rates and real wages between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. With a curious 20 to 30 year lag, when real wages rose, so did fertility and visa versa. That lag allowed a certain economic growth to occur, and the association meant that population adjusted to economic forces in a positive way, producing a labour supply that was needed in a diversified and fluctuating economy. When little growth in labour supply was needed through the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, fertility was strictly controlled (Macfarlane, 1987: 156-57; Wall, 1983b; 493). Fertility levels rose and stayed at unusually high levels during the eighteenth and nineteenth century as labour needs rose in response to industrialization (Macfarlane, 1987; 157).

France and Scotland

In much of continental and northern Europe access to land was dependent on hereditary rights or landowner's needs. In France peasants did have hereditary rights to lands within a specific domain, but as such lands could not be subdivided indefinitely, and as undeveloped lands were protected by forest law, some mechanism for controlling population growth must have been in place (Hamilton, 1986: 50;Wolf, 1982: 119). In the Limousin region of France it is known that family size started to be controlled through the selective neglect of infants as early as the fifteenth century and as mortality levels began to decrease contraceptive techniques were introduced as early as the mid-eighteenth century (Quale, 1992: 145). In most other regions of France, mortality rates at all levels of the population were such that even if an average of 4 children per woman survived infancy, only 2 survived to child-bearing age (Segalen, 1986: 163). In addition female celibacy in some regions of France increased from 5% to 13% in the one hundred years between 1680 and 1780 and was accompanied by an increase in the female age at marriage to age 26 (Quale, 1992; 145; Segalen, 1986: 161). That these last two phenomena coincided with the period during which seigneurial lands (demesnes) were being consolidated to the point where peasant property was eliminated, suggests that consciously or unconsciously people were adjusting their fertility levels to the availability of land.

In the Scottish Highlands usufructuary rights to land were determined, at least until the mid-eighteenth century by clan affiliation. Not all clansmen had equal access to land even under the traditional system however, and few alternative local economic opportunities apart from military service existed. Female celibacy rates between 11 and 22 %, high rates of male emigration in combination with an unusually high age at first marriage appear to have effectively controlled rates of population increase (Quale, 1992: 152, 154).

Migration in Europe

Since the nineteenth century, most scholars have assumed that the growth of cities, caused by the movement of rural transients from sedentary villages to the city, signalled the transition to the modern urban industrial era. However new studies of migration patterns in European societies, stimulated by studies of contemporary migration in Third World countries, have revealed that

European populations have never been as sedentary as once thought, and that several distinct kinds of movement have characterized rural Europe since at least since the seventeenth century (Jackson and Mochs, 1994: 182,1830). Most closely tied to the agricultural seasons were annual migrations undertaken by groups of harvest labourers, construction workers, and pedlars, and seasonal mining and factory work was also done by rural landholders and labourer.

Although the typical European migrant in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was young and single, students of the family economy have found that the family, rather than the individual, made migration decisions in its economic interest (Jackson and Mochs, 1994: 186). Several European community studies, based in part on systematic assessment of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century nominal records, have shown that in regions where there were limits on landed property, and inheritance was not divided, large numbers of children were compelled to migrate either on a seasonal basis or more permanently (Darroch, 1981; 264, 266). Such migrations were undertaken primarily when the size of the farm was not large enough to require the assistance of non-heirs to maximize returns (Darroch, 1981; 264).

In regions where there was no clear rule about how parental property was to be devised, migration from community of origin was institutionalized long before enclosure and industrialization, and was a normal or routine part of the life cycle (Laslett, 1972: 56). Single men and women both migrated, although men tended to migrate over longer distances (Jackson and Mochs, 1994; 183,185). In regions where equal division was the rule, multiple migrations that took migrants permanently away from their village or region of birth are primarily associated with those who had no landed property. Temporary migration by unmarried adult males was common in regions where inheritance was not affected by such migrations; and heads of households often engaged in seasonal labour migrations that took them away from home for several months on an annual basis (Goody, 1990; 457; Brettell and Metcalf, 1993: 380). Several more recent studies suggest that the patterns of migration noted for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were likely established during the preceding

centuries. In some respects then, the eighteenth and nineteenth century transatlantic migration of Europeans can be viewed as an extension of established intra- and interEuropean migration patterns (Jackson and Mochs, 1994; 189).

Canadian Context

Some changes in external context were common to all or most settlers and inhabitants who migrated to the new world. In most regions of Canada prior to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the high ratio of land to population in the initial decades of settlement in newly opened territories, in conjunction with the desire of governing bodies to populate the colonies, made access to land possible for most people, but helped truncate the growth of urban centres and the markets such centres provide for proto-industrial goods as well as for agricultural products (Hamilton, 1986: 51). As export markets for Canadian grain and lumber products opened up in the late 1830's and 1840's, farmers in regions with good transportation routes began producing for these markets.

In North America in general, the increase in family size over that found in Europe especially during the first decades of colonization and settlement has been correlated with a number of factors. A reduction in the age at marriage of women has been noted for late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century New France and colonial America where land was comparatively abundant but required, in the absence of labour, the work of both a husband and wife to develop. For the most part female age at marriage clustered in the low twenties, and stayed at that level among North American-born women in both of these regions until the early to mid-nineteenth century.[11] Investigation of age at marriage of the daughters and granddaughters of immigrants to Canada West in the early nineteenth century showed that a similar drop for most but not all ethnocultural groups. Variation in family size does bear some relation to age at marriage but demographic data clearly indicate regardless of age at marriage that at least some form of family limitation was practiced by women and men associated with some ethnocultural backgrounds.

The high rate of natural increase in the New World population in combination with a steady flow of immigrants, many of whom had families to provide for, and most of whom aspired to farms of their own, created a situation by the early to mid nineteenth century in which the quantity of arable land in close geographical proximity to parents was no longer sufficient for the establishment of all of the descendants of any one family.[12] This problem was exacerbated by the fact that non-agricultural opportunities continued to be limited in rural regions and only a limited number were open in metropolitan regions - certainly not enough to support the numbers of families and offspring who could not be accommodated on established farms.

Migration in North America

A number of studies undertaken since the 1970's provide evidence that geographic mobility was a central feature of nineteenth century life in North America as it was in Europe, in both rural and urban areas. These North American migrations were of two principle types: seasonal recurrent migration, and permanent migration of unattached individuals and of families. What is particularly striking in view of European practices is not the rate of geographic mobility per se, but the comparatively high incidence of family migration. When looked at in conjunction with synchronic studies of specific communities and the patterns of seasonal recurrent migration that prevailed, it is possible to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the choices that were available or perceived to be available, and the possible consequences of those choices on the structure of family relationships and values. Migrating was one of a number of solutions that many families opted or felt compelled to take. While the immediate circumstances that led to migration were varied, and in many instances were the result of social and economic conditions beyond the control of the individual or family, migration patterns of different groups were not identical because the problems these families were attempting to solve were not identical. The principles and values that informed and motivated the practices of Highland Scots, French-Canadian, and English families were variously affected by and adapted to, the opportunities and constraints of the new and/or shifting Canadian context.

[1] Indigenous populations are not discussed here as none of the Canadian North American societies were organized in a manner comparable to those of the centralized peasant or agricultural societies on which Todd's types are based. J. F. Collier, in *Marriage and Inequality in Classless Societies*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988) provides a similar kind of analysis based on her examination of the relationship between overt cultural rewards and the distribution of prestige, power and privilege in uncentralized, classless societies.

[2] Because land had been ceded not granted to former tenants, it was decided after 1854 that each tenant should pay a lump sum equivalent to the market value of his land. Those who would not or could not do so at once continued to pay the former seigneur a constituted rent. This obligation placed these farmers at a considerable disadvantage compared to their counterparts in the Eastern Townships and Upper Canada. Alan Greer, *Peasant, Lord and Merchant,*(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 137, has estimated that feudal extractions in the form of wheat, including rentes, tithes and other payments deprived the growers in the Lower Richelieu of probably more than half of their agricultural surpluses. In 1935 and 1940, the provincial government passed legislation relieving habitants of their obligation to their former seigneurs but making them debtors of municipalities. Thus even into the 1950's, some people continued to pay rent on their lands by virtue of contracts entered into in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Marcel Trudel, *The Seigneurial Regime*, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Booklet No. 6, 1971).

[3] After the conquest of 1760, many of the seigneuries were purchased by British officers and officials. Among these were Governor James Murray, who purchased the seigneurie of Lauzon, and Gabriel Christie, a British officer stationed in Montreal after the Seven Years War, who acquired and left to his heirs the five seigneuries between St. John's and the American border. See F. Noel, ""Seigneurial Land Survey and Land Granting Policy." in *Canadian Papers in Rural History* V (Gananoque ON: Langdale Press,1986).

[4] Desmesne agriculture was only important in Canada for a brief period during the seventeenth century when indentured labour was available. See Allan Greer, Pp.11,93, *Peasant, Lord and Merchant* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

[5] Until the early eighteenth century virtually all settlement followed the major river systems of Quebec, after which time the land immediately behind the river lots was divided up. Step-by-step colonization continued in this manner until the turn of the nineteenth century.

[6] As Serge Courville, "Villages and Agriculture in the Seigneuries of Lower Canada: Conditions of a Comprehensive Study of Rural Quebec in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Canadian Papers in Rural History V* (Gananoque, ON: Langdale Press, 1986), p. 139, notes, smaller land acreage is not necessarily significant from an agricultural point of view, because the yield from a smallish good farm can easily match that of much larger acreages located on soil of poorer quality..

[7] As a unit of area, the arpent was equivalent to .845 English acres or .342 hectares.

[8] This does not of course mean that everybody gets land, nevertheless until the mid-nineteenth century in Canada people who could produce the cash were not prevented from buying it.

[9] For political and economic reasons, free grants of fifty acres continued to be provided to new settlers in the Eastern Townships until well into the 1850's and 60's, with the option to purchase an additional 150 acres per family at below market cost.

[10] Recent studies of immigration in British North America have confirmed the existence of two separate streams of emigration identified by historian Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf,1986) in his analysis of English and Scottish immigrants to the United States in the 1770's. The first or "metropolitan" stream consisting mostly of young single craft or tradesmen from southern England, many of whom were indentured, did not intend to emigrate permanently. The second or "provincial" stream was made up of families, including children, often leaving from Northern England and Scotland.

[11] While much has been made of the extreme youth of French Canadian brides, this was common only during the period of extreme sex imbalance that ended around 1660. See Greer, *P. 51, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant* (Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1985), and Jacques Henripan, P. 206, "From Acceptance of Nature to Control: The Demography of French Canadians Since the Seventeenth Century." In M. Rioux and Y. Martin (eds.), *French Canadian Society* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964).

[12] It is well established historically, that first-generation immigrant families in North America tended to have more children than those in succeeding generations (with the exception of specific ethnocultural groups), and is probably a consequence of earlier marriages given that the material resources required for family formation were relatively abundant. See Daniel Scott Smith, "American Family Patterns and the northwest European model", *Continuity and Change* 8 (1993), 389-415.

Chapter Three

Analytical Framework

Introduction

When people migrate to a new country, whatever their reasons for leaving home, part of the cultural knowledge they bring with them includes ideas about how family relationships - kinship - should be organized, and by extension, how society should be organized. That kinship systems classify people and create differences among them is axiomatic in anthropology, as is the notion that, at least in the small scale societies traditionally studied, kinship structures are often simultaneously political and economic structures.

The family models developed by Emmanuel Todd, and described here, provide a way of illustrating how families in Western societies also create differences; that not all families create differences in the same way;and that the manner in which the families of different groups structure their relations with one another may have implications with respect to political orientation and economic organization.

As the immigrants who came to Canada during the period under study came from a limited range of regions and states, the range of ideal-type family structures, or rather practices that appear to conform in most respects to specific ideal-types of families appears to be limited to three. All of the models developed by Todd are included in this chapter however, not only to do justice to his work, but also because people whose family structures are compatible with the other four ideal-type families have immigrated to Canada since the 1890's.

Todd's Ideal-Type Family Structure Models

Emmanuel Todd (1985) examines the relationship between family structure and the world-wide distribution of political and ideological systems that emerged in agrarian or rural peasant societies prior to the advent of widespread industrialization. Building on the ideas of Frederic Le Play and Freud, Todd argues that ideological systems are products of family concepts, with family

organization the true infrastructure, not itself determined by any other social, economic or cultural forces.

Ideas people develop as they are raised in a family context - about equality, authority, and liberty - produce basic personality traits and attitudes toward the world that lead to certain political arrangements while inhibiting others. These relationships do not provide rigidly enforced values, but create tendencies which help shape how political issues are defined and acceptable solutions reached. Although their practices may not fit the ideal completely, neither are these practices fully intelligible without some knowledge of the ideal (Merelman, 1991: 176).

Todd notes that since De Toqueville, mass politics (the development of political consciousness and activity among the popular classes) and individualistic egalitarianism (the adoption of an egalitarian mentality) have been subsumed under the concept of democracy (1985: 14-15). However, as Todd points out, if these two components of democracy are isolated, only the former is clearly universal. That is, the advent of mass politics has not produced on a world scale political ideologies that are individualistic and/or egalitarian.[1] In England, Germany and Russia, the spread of literacy produced doctrines that vary to a greater or lesser degree from that espoused by the eighteenth-century French philosophers. The roots of this diversity, according to Todd , can be found in the manner in which family relations were structured in those regions of these states in which the spread of literacy was most advanced (1985: 14).

Genesis

The abandonment, in Europe, of the notion that only one form of family system exists is generally attributed to Frederic Le Play (1806-1882), who undertook to analyse local variations in family forms. Le Play set out a typology that included three forms, and studied their distribution throughout Europe. The analytical strength of this typology lay in the fact that Le Play discerned within one of the family structures he was describing the values of liberty and equality diagnostic of the French Revolution.[2] Although Le Play recognized that ideas of family relations and political and religious ideologies in some way mirrored one

another, implicitly he made ideology the solid object, the family its reflection (Todd, 1985: 11).

A product of the nineteenth century, Le Play's typology was framed in terms of the social - evolutionary perspective favoured during that period. This approach collapsed time and space into a single manifold of categories to classify types of society. In these models of evolution, temporal priority (causation, or time asymmetry) is confused with logical priority (entailment/implication). The logically simpler social form is assigned, by classificatory logic, a temporal priority (Thornton, 1992: 28).[3]

Most nineteenth century evolutionist interpretations of the family assume that at an indeterminate time in the past there existed a single type of family, one that combined a mass of parents, children, grandchildren and possibly cousins, uncles and aunts within a single domestic grouping. In their view, progress led to a simplification of this extended grouping, to the point where the modern two-generation family emerged. The hypothesis that the family disintegrated and the individual then appeared was one of the most popular in the social sciences (Todd, 1987: 23).

As Le Play's original typology does not permit the examination of family structure on a world-wide or even Western basis, Todd expands the typology in two ways. One, by eliminating the evolutionary bias, a family model that Le Play described and which he believed to be a degenerate of one of his three forms, is reclassified as a basic type.

Two, by taking into account the extent to which marriage is exogamous or endogamous, that is, the existence and kind of prescriptions for choosing a marriage partner within or outside the family group, three additional ideal-type models, two of which are not indigenous to the West, can be generated.

The work of Freud and the psychoanalytic school first legitimized the notion that the unconscious origins of metaphysical ideas are found in the organization of the family. In *The Future of an Illusion* (1928), God is portrayed as little more than a father-figure. Ideology, in this case religious ideology, is

conceived of as no more than the complex and often pathogenic web of normal family relations put into an intellectual form (Todd, 1985: 11).

The notion that family relations provide a model for political systems and serve to define the relationship between the individual and authority is an old one, evident in the works of Confucius, Aristotle, and Rousseau, as well as Freud. Each of these figures postulates the existence of a particular ideal family form; that found his immediate social environment. The great weakness of Freud's theories was this assumed universality of family structure, as it is clear that Freud's model could not engender the stern Protestant Creator, the Buddhist uncertainty about the nature of the spiritual, the Hindu Pantheon, or the numerous systems, forces, and political ideologies existing throughout the world (Todd, 1985: 12).

Range of distribution of Family Types

The various family forms modelled by Todd can be found simultaneously in areas whose climate, geography and economies are completely different. Particular family structures to not appear to bear any relation to traditional ethnic or linguistic frontiers. In most instances more than one family type can be associated with a particular linguistic or ethnic group. The four basic ideal-type family models constructed by Todd can be found in Asian as well as European societies, and in some cases is the dominant family-type. The three additional family types identified by Todd are somewhat more restricted in geographical distribution; however, he finds little evidence that ecological or economic conditions have played an important role in the manner in which ideal family relations are organized (Todd, 1985: 195).

Todd's models do not take in African family systems, set apart from the others by the widespread practice of polygny, and lateral as well as or in addition to vertical inheritance. Most ethnographic studies done in Africa have tended to focus on kinship terminology rather than actual family relations. Nevertheless the existing literature reveals a great deal of variation in the composition and structuring of families in Sub-Sahara Africa. Whether polygny is nuclear or communal in form, domestic organization is more complex and relationships both between husband and wife and parents and children are more

diffuse than those of other forms of family (Todd, 1985: 191-192). These distinctive features of African family structures may well mean that they are not amenable to analysis using the criteria developed for European and Asian systems.

Development of Models

Le Play's Typology

According to Frederic Le Play, relations between the father and the son determine people's concept of liberty or its opposite; the bond between brothers creates an idea of equality or inequality. Anthropologists have traditionally examined descent genealogies in order to identify these underlying structural principles. A patrilineal genealogy, for example, is built up of father-son ties and brother-brother ties which are understood to stand for relations of hierarchy and inequality on one hand and relations of equality and identity on the other (La Fontaine,1973; 47).

Liberty

The child who continues to live with its parents after marriage, forming a 'vertical' relationship with an extended family group is conforming to an authoritarian model of family relations. If, however that child leaves its parents after adolescence to form an independent household through marriage, then the model is a liberal one which puts the emphasis on individual independence (Todd, 1985: 7).

Equality

Inheritance may work in one of two ways: if parental property is divided among children, the process expresses an egalitarian relationship between brothers whereas if the inheritance system is based on the indivisibility of the succession and excludes all but one of the brothers, then it embodies an ideal of inequality (Todd, 1985: 7).

The way in which the principles of liberty and equality or their opposites work together in family life are inferred from analyzing postmarital residence patterns and how succession to parental property is organized. See figure one for a diagrammatic depiction of the four the family types.

Four Family Models

Logically, the application of these two principles of liberty and equality together with their opposites (liberty/authority, equality/inequality) should produce four possible types of family system: liberal and inegalitarian; liberal and egalitarian (unstable); authoritarian and inegalitarian (stem) and; authoritarian and egalitarian (patriarchal). Nevertheless, Le Play included only the latter three types of family structure in his typology. He had observed in England and Holland a liberal family system (cohabitation between parents and married children proscribed) that was indifferent to the principles of equality in that there were no precise conventions of dividing inheritance. Le Play concluded that this was a degenerate form of the stem family - authoritarian and inegalitarian - not a basic type.

Le Play believed that the uncertainty about succession inherent in this model placed a great deal of power in parental hands, even though he commented that in England public opinion expected the family to be independent - in other words that the independence of the conjugal or nuclear family was a value in its own right (Wall, 1983a: 28). For this reason, Todd maintains that acceptance of the possibility of an absolute break between generations admits that there may be no tie between father and son. In order to avoid confusion, Todd refers to this form of nuclear family organization as an absolute nuclear family, and to the form in France described by Le Play as an egalitarian nuclear family.

It should be noted here that Todd does not restrict the idea of equality to material or economic things. He argues that an equitable distribution of inheritance, of gifts and of punishments, are the outward sign of a homogeneous, symmetrical emotional system in which parents display their feelings for all their children in equal measure. For adult children, equality is not simply expressed in the equitable division of goods but by the equal right of all of

them to marry; conversely, inegalitarian principles only accord to some the choice of marriage. Thus equality is to Todd not an economic ideal but an intuitive, mathematical concept (1985: 13).

Figure 1 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. This figure is published in Emmanuel Todd, *The Explanation of Ideology*, transl. David Garrioch, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985, p. 10. The figure is a diagrammatic depiction of the values underlying Todd's four basic ideal type family models. One axis represents the liberty/authority dimension and the other axis represents the equality/inequality dimension of family relationships. Each of the four squared figures represents one ideal type family.

Type 4, Exogamous Community Family

This is the densest of family forms. All the sons have an equal right to their father's succession, but all of them continue as married adults to live with the senior generation, producing an undivided family community which Le Play calls patriarchal. On the death of the head of this community, each of the brothers may claim his share of the succession and found his own household, which as it grows will in turn make him the patriarch. This model combines vertical characteristics - a close father/son relationship - with horizontal ones - close ties between brothers. The salient political ideas in these regions are both

authoritarian and universalistic. This family structure is or was found in Russia, Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Central Italy, Finland, Albania, China, Vietnam, and North India.

Type 3, Authoritarian

Authoritarian and inegalitarian, this form maintains a close vertical association only between the father and the one son who will succeed him as head of the family. The other brothers must leave the stem family, or if they stay must remain unmarried. In this system the heir may be the eldest, the youngest, or even one of the others. What defines this type as authoritarian is their ability to transmit, because of their vertical structure, extremely strong behavioural norms through education; authority here does not imply physical violence (Todd, 1985: 64). Ideologically this family type creates an acute awareness of difference which may be expressed as pluralism or inequality. The principle regions or peoples concerned include Germany, Japan, China, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Scotland, Ireland, peripheral regions of France, Northern Spain, Italy and Portugal, Korea, Jews, Romany Gypsies.[4]

Type 2, Egalitarian Nuclear

Liberal and egalitarian, this is the exact opposite of Type 3. It requires the rapid separation of father and sons and equal division of the succession between the children. Le Play calls this type the unstable family, as the permanence of the elementary unit over time is not a priority. The principle regions in which this family form is found include Northwest France, Northern and Southern (not central) Italy, Poland, Romania, Greece, Central Portugal, Central and Southern Spain, and Ethiopia.

Type 1, Absolute Nuclear

Liberal and inegalitarian, this family form combines apparently contradictory concepts. However, this system in which the father is free to disinherit all of his children, is not systematically inegalitarian as is the stem family although it is clearly not egalitarian. When compared with the Type 2

nuclear family it can be seen that the egalitarian inheritance system in fact weakens the basic principle of the nuclear family the separation of the father and son, while the inegalitarian system supports this separation. This family form is found most commonly in the England and the regions colonized by the English, as well as in Holland, Denmark and Iceland.

Todd's Expanded Typology

Le Play's typology, even with the addition of a further category, does not permit analysis of family structures outside of Europe. His typology, developed for the analysis of family systems within Europe, does not take into account the extent to which marriage is exogamous or endogamous. The almost universal incest taboo, which structuralist anthropologists understand to be about obligations to give or exchange certain classes of women between groups, is not a source of universal family forms, for it is applied in a variety of ways which do have implications for the way in which impersonal relations are visualized (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 481). That Le Play did not consider this aspect of family structure is understandable since despite displaying a degree variations in inheritance systems and household forms, European and most Asian societies are almost unanimous in observing strict rules of exogamy. In large numbers of societies this is not the case however (Todd, 1985: 45).

If two levels of endogamy - which can be present to a high or low degree - are applied to the corrected form of Le Play's model, a classification of seven family forms is produced. The combination of the principles underlying Le Play's typology with those that determine the type of endogamy produces some forms in which the principles conflict, and one in which they double up. Preferential marriage presupposes a certain type of relationship between brother and sister that clash with the principles of equality or inequality that Le Play identifies.

Not all of Le Play's family types are affected the same way by a relaxation of the exogamy requirement. The community family can be divided into two new types, the endogamous community family and the asymmetrical community family. The authoritarian family remains essentially unchanged by a relaxation of the requirement, and does not produce forms that are fundamentally different from the "exogamous" authoritarian family (1985: 20). The absolute and

egalitarian family types change in the same way if restrictions on the marriage of close relatives are reduced or ignored: they merge to form a single model, the anomic nuclear family (1985: 24).[5]

This is not to say that there is a total absence of rules or that all of the normative rules that do exist are consistently ignored. In most of the regions Todd identifies as being characterized by anomic nuclear families relatively few negative stipulations are consistently observed although normative rules may exist. For example, although a formal rule may exist prohibiting marriages between members of the same clan and this rule is generally ignored in practice, a prohibition stating that a man may not marry his own mother or his younger sister will be consistently followed (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 10).

Three Additional Models

Endogamous Community Family

In this variant of the community family, in which parallel-cousin marriage is encouraged (there is no rule of endogamy in most of these societies), the power of the fraternal bond surpasses that of the paternal bond. Inheritance in the regions where the endogamous community family is found is not a simple transmission of the patrimony to the children. In practice, the same patrimony is continuously recycled within the same family. The household remains all-powerful but the regulatory mechanism of custom eclipses and replaces the authority of the father. Ideologically this type of family is egalitarian and universalistic (Todd, 1985: 140).

At the same time, this system does not encourage the elaboration of the notion of the individual removed from the family context. A system of exogamy requires a priori the establishment of a relationship between two people who are strangers to each other. The exogamous choice of a partner serves as a model for bureaucratic relations creating links between individuals who do not know one another. In endogamous community family regions, family loyalty takes precedence over loyalty to an impersonal state (Todd, 1985: 144-145). This

family form is most commonly found in the Arab world, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Azerbaijan. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tadzhikistan.[6]

Asymmetrical Community Family

In the case of the asymmetrical community family, the sibling relationship that is highlighted is that between the sister and the brother. The community household structure places brothers with the same rights within a wider domestic group. The children of these brothers cannot marry, although cross-cousin marriage is encouraged (in certain cases sister's daughter is the preferred partner). The two main aspects of this marriage system, parallel patrilateral exogamy and cross matrilateral endogamy are equally important as in a subtle way, these two principles encourage an asymmetrical perception of social space: not all individuals have equivalent positions, not all can be married, not all are equal. At the same time, fraternal cohabitation and egalitarian division of inheritance work in the opposite direction, towards symmetry and thus toward universalism (Todd, 1985: 158). This family form is found in south India as well as some regions of Chile.

Anomic Nuclear Family

Most of the structural prescriptions of the anomic family are unclear, whether dealing with marriage, succession or co-residence between parents and children. Inheritance rules are egalitarian in theory but flexible in practice. Cohabitation between married children and their parents is rejected in theory but accepted in practice. Consanguine marriage is possible and sometimes frequent. In societies where the anomic nuclear family exists, the neighbourhood or local group seems to be the basic social unit.[7] In regions where the anomic nuclear family is dominant, there is a tendency towards neighbourhood endogamy. At higher levels than the village, there is a tendency towards class endogamy, typically in the form of closed endogamous groups in elite circles. These resemble castes but are more accurately conceptualized as isolates as they are not formalized and institutionalized (Todd, 1985: 174-175).

The creation and maintenance of endogamous, autonomous neighbourhood groups engenders an attachment to communitarian ideals very different from those associated with either community or authoritarian family regions insofar as these ideas coexist with an individualistic, anti-authoritarian temperament. The political culture of these regions tends to oscillate between two poles - individualism and communitarianism (Todd, 1985: 181). Anomic nuclear family regions include Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Andean America, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

In theory, one additional family form should be included in typology, one in which the family ideal is an extended group based on solidarity between sisters rather than brothers, in which there is a prescribed preference for marriage between maternal parallel cousins. In reality, there is no cross-cultural evidence that this exists as a family ideal in any settled peasant society (Todd: 1985; 22).

Family Structure and Gender

According to Todd, the principles of symmetry or asymmetry between brothers in the liberal or nuclear family systems are not without consequences for gender relations, which are different in the absolute and egalitarian variants. In these two models, the nuclear family always corresponds with systems of bilateral parentage, giving in theory, equal weight to maternal and paternal roles. Women participate in the division of inheritance (they are generally excluded in the case of the exogamous community family).[8] As a nuclear household is simply the association of one man and one women in a situation of exclusive dialogue, some degree of equality is expected (Todd, 1985: 111).

In the absolute variant, an indifference to the principle of symmetry and solidarity between brothers, in practice allows for a greater degree of gender equality than the egalitarian nuclear family. In the latter variant, the principle of equality between brothers implies an a priori idea of masculine solidarity. Thus in egalitarian nuclear family systems an internal contradiction exists between the principles of solidarity within the couple and differentiation between the sexes

which creates a situation of ambiguity as to the status of women (Todd, 1985: 111).[9]

The one structural feature shared by the egalitarian nuclear and authoritarian family systems which are otherwise complete opposites as far as liberty/authority and equality/inequality are concerned, is this degree of ambiguity about the position of women. The emphasis placed on the father-son relationship in the latter does not preclude the assignment in practice of a great deal of authority to women. In some variants, such as the Jewish and Basque models, this authority is explicitly recognized. Basque tradition primogeniture is gender neutral, while in traditional Judaism a child's ethnoreligious identity is determined by the mother, although women were normatively excluded from inheritance (Todd, 1985: 64, 112).

In this model, the 'male' (as opposed to the father), cannot become a sacred figure as no unitary figure of the male exists. There are those who are heirs and those who are rejected. The latter are from the point of view of inheritance in the same theoretical position as women. Rejected sons must either marry an heiress or become a monk, priest, soldier or, during periods of demographic growth and industrialization, a landless labourer. This combination of characteristics produces a social system that combines the vertical integration of society with individualism, but an individualism that has a more disciplined character than that found in non-vertical nuclear systems (Todd, 1985: 64, 65).

Community family structures vary greatly insofar as gender relations are concerned. Todd characterizes the exogamous community family as being potentially the most unstable of the community families. Exogamous spouse selection introduces several strangers to a household within a system which simultaneously stresses solidarity between brothers and paternal authority. Each addition of a wife to a community household involves establishing and stabilizing seven new functional and affective ties: with a husband, with each of her in-laws, and with nieces and nephews (Todd, 1985: 34).[10] The rivalry that arises between formally equal brothers is usually attributed to their wives, as in China, where each wife, in making a contribution to the conjugal fund disrupts the continuing equality of brothers (Goody, 1990: 80). But while paternal power

in the authoritarian family system is invulnerable, in the exogamous community family solidarity between brothers makes it potentially more fragile. Even in China , where filial reverence is stressed, the father in this family model is subject to the gradual wearing down of his authority by ambitious sons (Goody: 1990: 83).

The difference in age between husband and wife largely determines the status of women vis a vis men in these family systems. In regions where age difference between marriage partners is relatively slight, relations between men and women will tend to be more egalitarian, with the typical community family resembling a collection of nuclear families (Todd, 1985; 36). In some instances while co-residence is practiced, each conjugal unit also establishes a separate conjugal fund (Goody, 1990: 80). In any case, as in egalitarian nuclear family systems an internal contradiction exists between the principles of solidarity within the couple and differentiation between the sexes creating a situation of ambiguity with respect to the status of women. This often exacerbated by the tensions inherent in the relationship between a mother and sons in that the mother may, as in the authoritarian family structure, exercise considerable authority in a formally patriarchal system.

In the endogamous community family, it is the sibling relationship that receives the most emphasis. In systems where it is fraternal relations that are emphasized, that is, the paternal parallel cousin marriage is preferred or prescribed, and combined with fraternal coresidence, the marriage bond does not substantially change the relationship between brothers. Todd asserts that even though cross-cousin marriage is often practiced in these societies, that this does not substantially influence the position of women vis a vis men in these family systems as the father - law is always an uncle (1985; 20, 21).

He further notes that the relative difference in age at marriage (women are on average 6.4 years younger than their husbands) which allows an analogy to be made between a child and a wife, helps to strengthen the fraternal bond (1985: 142). Women are, in many of these societies, socially invisible although it is true that the separation of men and women may allow for a certain degree of autonomy for women within the female sphere although class differences may exist. Urbanization and modernization has had the effect of reducing the degree

in inequality between women and men in these societies, however as the example of Iran indicates, the imposition of measures to increase the autonomy of women are easily reversed.

Gender relations in anomic nuclear family systems, which like the other forms of nuclear family, are based on the ideal of the solidarity of the married couple, are relatively egalitarian. The actual status of women in these societies is highly variable, in some instances more closely resembling that of women in absolute nuclear family regions, in other instances resembling more closely the situation in egalitarian nuclear regions (Todd, 1985: 178).

Todd's analysis ih highly relevant yet problematic when applied to the Canadian historical experience. His model does not predict the form that Canadian democracy has taken.

[1] Todd of course is not alone in making this observation. The root meaning of democracy is "popular rule" which entails some notion of adult franchise; nevertheless the word in and of itself does not imply liberty or equality. Philosophers who are primarily interested in the internal relations between ideas have long been concerned whether a belief in equality is consistent with a belief in individualism. Anthropologists on the other hand are concerned with the external relations between these ideas, that is what beliefs are actually held within a given society and how contradictions or conflicts are handled. See for example Andre Beteille, *Individualism and Equality*, (Current Anthropology, 1986).

[2] At a time when the instability of working class families was regarded as a cause for concern, LePlay *On Family, Work and Social Change*, edited and translated by Catherine Silver, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) P. 293-294, advocated what he perceived as being a return to the settled extended family, a form which he believed could ensure patriarchal authority and stress the continuity of values from generation to generation .

[3] That some form of joint family (often referred to as an extended family) was assumed to be the logically simpler social form preceding the two-generational nuclear form currently dominant in North American societies is based on the structural functionalist argument that when the structure of a society changes, the forms of family life will be reshaped. As peasant and non-European societies were (and continue to be in some cases) considered to be simpler forms of society and as it was assumed that extended families were the cultural norm in these societies the conclusion was that extended families are a logically simpler form. As Marilyn Strathern notes in *After Nature: English Kinship in the Late Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992b) P. 146 "The idea is that in the past people had more relatives, families were larger, there was more of a community, in the same way that people imagine that village life was once communal".

[4] Although the stem family lost legal recognition in Japan during the occupation era 1945-51 they continue to be an important social form. According to G.R. Quale, *Families in Context: A World History of Population* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992) p. 373, the stem family is, in some respects, more significant in recent times: by 1980, the average length of co-residence of parent, heir and unmarried children was 24 years compared to 10 years in the 1920's. This author does not indicate how the relatioships between the senior and junior generations have been affected by this change.

[5] The term anomic is used to convey the notion of loose or flexible structure. As with any of the other family forms the anomic nuclear family has its strengths and weaknesses, and should not be regarded as a deviant family form.

[6] This family pattern predates Islam and is known to have been in existence in Sumeria.

[7] Todd does not suggest that the people in these regions do not recognize or appreciate their families, or that this view is shared by the people who actually live in these societies.

[8] This may or may not include a dowry, which some anthropologists consider to be a form of pre-mortem inheritance. In some cases the transmission of dowry is simply a mechanism for maintaining the rights of sons to landed patrimonial property in situations

where daughters formally have a claim to the property. In other cases, for example that described by C. Lison-Tolosana in "The Family in a Spanish Town" Pp. 163-178 in C.C. Harris (ed.) *Readings in Kinship in Urban Society* (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1970), in addition to receiving a dowry, daughters also participate in the definitive division of the parental property. This last situation thus reveals a limitation on the usefulness of Todd's models for the analysis of gender relations. If inheritance is divided equally among all siblings it follows that the principle of universality should be extended to all people, not just men.

[9] Caroline B.Brettell and A. C. Metcalfe, in "Families and Customs in Portugal and Brazil: Transatlantic Parallels" *Continuity and Change* (8(3): 365-388, 1993) note in that in the region of Portugal studied, all children, daughters and sons alike, married equally and that all children could expect to inherit twice in their life; after the death of one parent and again after the death of the other. At the same time the law explicitly discriminated against women, citing their "frailty of reason".

[10] According to J. Goody, *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), P. 117,127-130, not all brides enter the joint household as adult 'strangers'. For example, in China and Taiwan the institution of adoptive marriage or foster daughter-in law marriage involve introducing the 'bride' into the household as an infant. These minor marriages as they are referred to are the most unstable however, possibly because of the fact that the marriage partners had been raised together. Cross-culturally there is no clear evidence that this should necessarily be the case.

Chapter Four

Analysis of Selected Historical Data

Introduction

In this chapter the practices and behaviours of actual historical groups of people, immigrants and their descendants alike, as described in the literature, are examined in order to see if their actions can be explained with reference to Todd's models. A one-to-one correlation is made between ethnocultural origin and family type in this chapter; this is largely a reflection of the pattern of immigration during the historical period under examination.

The ideal-typical family models described in the previous chapter are of course abstractions of institutionalized relationships -- institution used here in the sense of a legitimized social grouping responsible for the physical or biological and material reproduction of society. The sets of practices that Todd has isolated to construct these models can also be conceived of as different strategies that have been developed to deal with the same general problems of every human social group: how to secure support in old age, how to contract a marriage for a child, how to provide for all one's children, how to maintain the social status of all members of the family (Brettel, 1991: 353).

The term strategy, following Bourdieu (1976), is used to emphasize the fact that the practices followed by a particular historical group within a specific community or region, although appearing with statistical regularity, should not be conceived of as resulting from the application of strict rules or norms. In most cases the principles guiding behaviour are implicit rather than explicit as any number of factors come into play in the making of a particular decision. Bourdieu refers to this notion as *habitus*, a system of invisible, general, but powerful rules that guide, but do not determine, everyday behaviour.

Family institutions, like other kinds of institutions, systematically direct individual memory and channels the perceptions of its members into forms compatible with the relations they authorize (Douglas, 1986: 46). Any problem that is confronted is transformed into the organizational problems of that

particular institution. While people respond to economic and other social changes by adapting household relations and activities to fit new circumstances, the ways in which they perceive and deal with those changes depends not only on an objective assessment of the situation, but also on past experiences and on ideas about the way things should be done (Olsen, 1989: 150-51). That is, not all courses of action will be viewed as acceptable or even perceived as options for all families.

For most of the earliest settlers in particular, but for most of those who migrated later to newly opened regions, and the material and institutional mechanisms and alternatives which provided structural support for the family models in the old world, or old community were either poorly developed, inaccessible or not necessary or possible to reconstitute in rural New World contexts. Where it was perceived to be necessary, practices were consciously or unconsciously adapted, adopted or developed to overcome these deficiencies. In many cases, these likely represented a compromise between the ideals or principles the family was modelled on and the requirements of adjustment. In some cases families did not find it necessary or desirable to adopt new strategies or practices. However, it cannot be assumed a priori that the relationships among family members did not change as the nature of the constraints and material and symbolic opportunities available in the new context often varied considerably from those in the regions where the family originated.

The material for each cultural group/family type is organized in a similar manner. First, inheritance rules and/or customary practices governing intergenerational transmission in the country or region of origin, and in Canada, are described, in order to identify which of Todd's ideal-type family models most closely represents the dominant family structure or structures of the immigrants at the time of migration and which of these were in use in Canada. Secondly, the practices and behaviours of the families within these communities, including those related to intergenerational transmission and migration are examined and analyzed.

Highland Scots - Authoritarian

The study from which the Canadian data are drawn covers the period between 1848 and 1881 after which time this Scottish community gradually died out. Religious factionalism within the community prompted some families to leave the district, but in the view of the historian who did the research, the effectiveness of their family practices in maintaining a low level of population growth during a period when financial difficulties forced many settlers to leave may also have been a contributing factor (Little, 1991: 201).

The question of how typical this community was compared to other Highland Scots communities or those settled by people who had a similar family structure is not an easy question to answer without comparative data of the same quality as in this particular study. What data are available, however, suggest that in many respects they did employ similar strategies. In the context of this thesis what is of greater concern is that these data do appear to illustrate how people who structured their family relations in a particular manner adjusted to a new environment.

Ideal-Type Authoritarian Family

The three characteristics isolated by Todd as being diagnostic of ideal-type authoritarian families are: inheritance rules that imply the inequality of brothers, with the bulk of the patrimony transferred to one son; cohabitation of the married heir with the parents; little or no marriage between the children of two brothers.

Authoritarian Families in European Contexts

In societies where the authoritarian family dominates, the structural problem is not provision for the parental generation, but for those who are disadvantaged by inheritance practices. These descendants either remain and work for the family in the capacity of servants, or they leave to take up employment outside the house, either option serving to preserve the economic foundation of the family (Bourdieu, 1976: 139). Circulation of servants between

households was not unknown, but in these regions parents did not send their children to work as servants if they could use their help at home (Hajnal, 1983: 96; McLean, 1991: 18). It was possible for those who left the family home to achieve a degree of economic success either through marriage to an heiress or through other means, but economic success did not confer on these individuals the status or perquisites associated with the head of an old and established house. In these regions, state or estate policies often provided support for the authoritarian family, at times overriding the more egalitarian intentions of other institutions such as the Church in the interest of maintaining paternal authority (Goody, 1983: 151).

Intergenerational Transmission in the Scottish Highlands

The inheritance and succession rules and practices in the Scottish Highlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are not well documented for ordinary clansmen, nor have any systematic studies been published to date on Highland families (Little, 1992: 294). Nevertheless, some of the research examining the nature of the clan and land tenure systems does provide data that are suggestive.

Highland Scots clans were not characterized by a segmentary structure in which the constituent units were broadly homologous; they resembled, rather, 'conical' clans, in which one section of the clan dominated the rest. Although these were a form of patrilineal clan, bilateral groupings were important in matters related to the feud (Goody, 1983; 237). The clan was internally stratified, especially with regard to rights over property and office. The leader lived in a castle, handed down to his heir; the clansman lived in a black house acquired from his own kin.

In Scotland, perpetual entails began to be used from 1648 and were given statutory authority in 1685, making the use of wills redundant (Cooper, 1976: 231). A perpetual entail is a settlement of property on a designated series of possessors such that it cannot be bequeathed or alienated, without barring or breaking the entail (Goody, et al, 1976: 403). Legally, the land belonged to the chief who had title to it, while the people believed that the chief held his property on behalf of the entire clan. Each clansman had a right to use a piece of land

appropriate to his social standing and resources somewhere on the chief's holdings (McLean, 1991: 18). Farms were often held in common by joint tenants, often from clansmen or retainers who paid only nominal rents to the chieftains in return for providing skilled soldiers from among the peasantry (Little, 1991: 14). Until the Battle of Culloden in 1746, clan chieftains had relied on large bodies of armed retainers or tacksmen, who managed the estates in times of peace. These tacksmen were heads of cadet lines of the chiefly clan who acted as intermediaries between the chief and commoners (Wolf, 1982:363).

The extension of British-enforced law and order into the Highlands after 1746 was accompanied by a gradual weakening of the clan structure as the chiefs of those estates that had not been annexed by the Crown were drawn into the English economic system and began to see themselves as owners rather than stewards of their estates.

However, the Annexed Estates administration fractured only one support of traditional organization - the power and authority of the clan chief. The loss of a chief did not destroy the clansmen's respect for authority and both the clergy and tackmen in the communities were viewed as acceptable replacement leaders (McLean, 1991: 41).

In the two decades following the defeat of the Jacobite uprising, farms were infrequently farmed by individuals. Typically, a farm was worked by a father and son or son-in-law, or by groups of brothers (no information is available as to the marital status of these brothers) (McLean, 1991: 27). That the tenants of some, if not all, estates provided a steady stream of men to serve in the British army during the second half of the eighteenth century, and that there was an unusually high rate of women to men, suggests the possibility that sons who could not be accommodated on the farms constituted the bulk of these men (McLean, 1991: 26, 61). Existing documents indicate that in at least some localities undivided farms in annexed estates remained in the possession of the same tenants or their heirs for the thirty years after 1755, and that even where fences formally divided farms and family holdings, they were treated as a single property by the tenants, a tendency that was reinforced by the giving of leases in the mid-1770's (McLean, 1991: 37,61).

Beginning in the decades immediately preceding and following 1800, the commercialization of agriculture, stimulated by the integration of the Highlands economy into that of the Lowlands and England, prompted the landlords to reorganize arable land. Most of their lands were rented out to commercial farmers from the south and the remaining lands were divided into separate holdings or crofts. Each croft of only two to five acres was leased to a single tenant who paid rent directly to the landlord (Little, 1991: 15). It is known, however, that more than one family often lived on the same croft in spite of official policy (Little, 1991: 20). What little is known about the organization of work seems to indicate that until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, crofters dependent on seasonal labour in the kelping industry and/or the local fisheries in order to pay their rents, formed work groups to engage in these tasks, and while it seems reasonable that members of the same family cooperated in this manner no data on the precise composition of these groups is available (Little, 1991: 16; 1992; 300). Nor was there a shift in attitudes about land; clansmen who had lost their farms and stayed in the Highlands built new communities and continued to press their right to the land (McLean, 1982: 170).

Practices in Lower Canadian Townships

Background

The data used in this section, as well as the following section dealing with egalitarian nuclear families, are drawn from historical studies of Winslow Township in the colonization zone of Upper St. Francis in the Eastern Townships of Quebec between 1848 and 1881. The initial thrust of colonization schemes in this region, prior to 1848, had been to bolster the British population of Lower Canada. By the early 1840's, with land no longer available on the seigneuries, and with large numbers of the French-speaking population emigrating to the United States, French-Canadian church and government colonization projects were launched to keep these people in the province and to challenge the political power base of the English-speaking communities to the south of the St. Francis District which had been settled in the 1830's (Little, 1
989). As of 1852, thirty-five Scots families and fifty-eight French-Canadian families had settled in Winslow Township (Little, 1991: 50).

Heavily forested and located on the northern edge of the Appalachian High Plateau, Winslow's altitude results in a growing season one month shorter than that of the Montreal region to the southeast and an annual snowfall of 165 inches compared to 95 inches just 50 miles to the south. The Township was also isolated, in the summer a minimum of 12 hours by stage-coach being required to reach the nearest urban centre fifty miles away (Little, 1991: 3). In addition, modern soil and topography maps indicate that 50 acre lots would have been inadequate for commercial agriculture even if markets had been accessible.

In 1848, land grants of 50 free acres were offered along the main township road to any male over the age of 18, with a five year option to purchase an additional two lots on rear concessions at a fixed price below market value (Little, 1991:48). Low crown land prices were intended to discourage the subdivision of farms. The government anticipated that as the land was settled and cleared those able to do so would begin a consolidation process, while those who had sold land would invest the proceeds in larger acreages of unimproved lands (Little, 1989: 88).

Virtually all of the Highland immigrants who settled in the Upper St. Francis District came as assisted emigrants from the Isle of Lewis in Scotland. Most of these crofters came from the western shore of the island, evicted by their landlords during the potato famine (Little, 1991: 15, 21-22). The chamberlain in charge of selecting families for emigration chose those whose rents were furthest in arrears and records indicate that the thirty-eight families who settled in the area under consideration originated from nineteen different communities (Little, 1991: 25).

Land Acquisition Strategies

The traditional Highland conception that the right to land was established by occupation and improvement rather than by written contract was not undermined by enclosures and evictions in northern Scotland, and unauthorized occupation of land traditionally held by a family continued to be common in Highland districts until the late nineteenth century (Little, 1991: 59; McLean,

1991: 103). To the degree that the clan system survived into the nineteenth century, it seems it was as an unofficial device to enforce traditional usufructuary property rights of its members. Joint rather than individual rights to land was the common pattern (Little, 1991: 59, 61).

In Canada, the notion of family rather than individual property created difficulties for Scots heads of families since crown land agents, none of whom were Scottish or Gaelic-speaking, did not understand either the traditional land holding or family systems of the Highland settlers. They interpreted the desire on the part of Scot's heads of families to accumulate more free lots than the regulations stipulated as evidence of land speculation. In 1852, nearly all Scottish settlers reported to the census enumerator that they held 100 acres in contrast to French-Canadian settlers who reported holdings of fifty acres. In addition, many Scots settlers squatted on lands adjacent to those held formally.

For example, one elderly settler received lot 66, rang II SW as his free grant in 1850, then acquired a claim to lot 67 prior to his death in 1855. His son, who had three children aged 10, 8, and 1, squatted on adjoining lots 66 and 67, rang III SW. While the stated intention of the elderly settler in acquiring the additional land was to ensure that his grandchildren would be able to settle near their father in the future, the question remains as to why the son of this elderly settler had not applied for a free grant of the adjoining lot in his own name.[1] As well, even after 1859, when settlement regulations were changed to allow adolescent sons to apply for free grants while living with their parents, data on Highland settlers in a neighbouring township confirms that even if fathers took advantage of this policy, sons frequently did not start farming independently after they came of age (Little, 1989: 138).

Intergenerational Transfers - Eastern Townships

The data compiled on household composition and inheritance and succession practices of the Scots population in this district thirty years after initial colonization are particularly interesting as they suggest that these settlers were, in some respects, reconstituting practices that had been radically changed in Scotland in the decades immediately preceding emigration. This is not an

unusual phenomenon. Anthropologists who have observed similar events in other societies note that actual behavioural accommodations to social and economic change occur relatively quickly, but that expectations of behaviour and the underlying cognitive structures relating to familial relationships change more slowly.[2]

Throughout the period studied, the single-family household, consisting of a married couple and their offspring, was the most common pattern reported for Scottish residents of the township (Little, 1991: 105). However, certain practices and customs, particularly the unusually lengthy period of time that Scottish offspring continued to be associated with the parental household, in conjunction with information regarding the manner in which intergenerational transfers were handled, suggests that the ideal-typical family structure of these immigrants corresponded to an authoritarian family structure.

During the entire study period, the most consistent difference between the Scottish and French-Canadian families in the Winslow district was the presence in the households of the Scots of more than twice the number of adult offspring than were present in those of the latter group. In 1881, close to half of all Scottish households included at least one unmarried adult son or daughter. Thirty-five per cent of these households included three, four, or even five unmarried adult children, some of whom were in their mid- to late thirties and most of whom probably remained single (Little, 1991: 112, 113). A similar pattern has been reported for Scottish settlements in Nova Scotia although household statistics have not been reported in that study (Brookes, 1981).

The 1881 census records also indicate that in some instances both male and female adult siblings continued to live in the parental home after it had been ceded to the heir (Little, 1992: 293). No indication has been provided in the literature as to the frequency of this arrangement, however; nor is there any information given as to whether there was a relationship between size of holding and the presence of these unmarried siblings.

Census enumerators in the Eastern townships rarely listed more than one Scots son as a farmer, most older sons being identified as farm labourers or

labourers, most of whom were likely not present at the time the census was taken, with daughters being listed as servants (Little, 1991; 112). Research into the economic strategies of Winslow's Scottish families indicates that mature sons and daughters, not fathers, migrated seasonally. Most of these went to the United States, where wages were higher than in Canada, returning home in time to assist with the harvest. Wages earned were turned over to the family enterprise. This sojourning experience often lasted considerably longer than one or two seasons; in one documented instance a son helped to support his parental family for seven years by sending home part of the wages he earned as a cowboy on the western prairies (Little, 1992: 295). Although no personal letters or diaries have surfaced for the Scots population of Winslow, those of Scots settlers in other regions of North America support the view that sons and daughters unquestioningly contributed cash earnings and labour to the parental farm for several years after reaching maturity and often after leaving the parental home permanently (Erickson, 1972: 42).

That most of these children were not remaining in the parental household with the expectation of inheriting a portion of the parental estate is evident, if the twenty wills and deeds in gift notarized between 1860 and 1880 are representative. Deeds in gift which were used to transfer parental property inter vivos, rather than wills, were the most commonly-used mechanism for the intergenerational transfer of property, usually notarized at the time of retirement (which generally took place five years later than for French-Canadian parents), to which were attached requirements to house and provide for the aging parents. The Scots agreements, in keeping with those characteristic of authoritarian family regions, contain little detail and it was rare, although not unheard of, for deeds in gift to be retroceded (Stone, 1981; 69-70; Little, 1991: 123). Most of these contracts dealt with arrangements for the provision of physicians' services and religious concerns, including funeral and burial arrangements; and while all were very personalized documents, virtually none of these deeds in gifts specified annual food provisions to be given to the parents (Little, 1991: 121).

Fifteen out of twenty of these documents were for impartible settlements, that is, the entire property was ceded to one child with no specified provision made for non-inheriting children regardless of the number of lots owned (five of the twenty donees were daughters). The remainder have been classified by the

author as partible/impartible settlements or partible settlements as specific provisions in the form of cash and in one case livestock, were made for non-inheriting children (Little, 1991: 116-117).

This interpretation, however, may be based on a faulty understanding of the how intergenerational transfer operates in an authoritarian family system. In regions in which these families are common while the bulk of the patrimony in terms of real property is transmitted to a single heir, this patrimony is conceived of as family property, not an individual possession. All heirs have a claim, however unequal to the property, but the right to alienate real property which constitutes the patrimony is limited. Each non-heir is normally entitled to a specified portion of the patrimony, customarily transmitted at the time of marriage or leaving home. These shares are usually given in the form of cash or moveables and effectively extinguish any further claims to the landed patrimony (Bourdieu, 1976: 125). The presence of unmarried adult male siblings in the households of their married brothers in the 1880's may indicate that these claims for the support of the family had not yet been discharged.[3] It is possible that in these cases the father had not been able to accumulate sufficient funds to provide the non-heir with his portion prior to the time of his retirement, and that because these sons had contributed their own wages to the parental farm, they had not been able to accumulate on their own the funds needed to leave.

In some respects the behaviour or practices of the Winslow Scots seems to stand in sharp contrast to the situation that prevailed in regions where initial grants to Scottish settlers were for large tracts of good quality land. In these cases all mature sons were able to acquire their own farms during the initial settlement period, although it appears that only one inherited the parental property. The author of several historical studies of Highland Scots settlements in eastern Ontario notes that land was not treated as a commodity and that farms were kept in the same family for several generations (McLean, 1991: 212).

In some cases, additional lands acquired by the father were used to establish other sons. Although this appears to be similar to the practices observed for egalitarian nuclear families, one possible difference has been noted. What records exist suggest that these fathers sold accumulated farms at

market value to their non-inheriting sons, the proceeds being used to provide dowries for any daughters. Even in Winslow where the agricultural conditions and poor access to markets made the purchase of additional lands difficult, there was at least one case in which a father sold a farm to a non-inheriting son at the prevailing market price at approximately the same time that he ceded his original farm to another son (Gagan, 1981: 58; Little, 1991: 116).

No systematic research on the marriage strategies or patterns of families in this or most other areas settled by Highland Scots or other groups who may have had an authoritarian family structure have been done that would provide information on the marriage order of either sons or daughters or the degree of influence exercised by the parents in the selection of a marriage partner[4]. It is known that the inheriting son tended to delay marriage until the transfer of property was imminent. Unfortunately, the marital status of the daughters who were ceded the family has not been provided. Nevertheless, nominal data provided by the author indicate that as economic pressures increased so too did age at marriage of sons, and bachelorhood, and daughters were less likely to remain in the home. This suggests that parents were exerting a certain amount of control over the marriage of non-heirs (Little, 1989: 112). This is not to say that these parents actively discouraged the marriages of non-inheriting sons, or that sons consciously sacrificed the full social life that marriage promised, but that by the time the family determined that economic conditions permitted the formation of a new household, it was often too late.[5]

That many of the men who left Winslow permanently were married does not necessarily contradict this observation. Non-inheriting adult sons initially migrated in order to ensure the security of the parental farm, but this did not prevent them from establishing their own families after this was assured. Given the pattern of long-term seasonal migration, it is likely that these men were able to accumulate sufficient savings to themselves elsewhere while single and return to Winslow to marry. That most of the outmigrating couples had no children or only a single infant provides some support for this interpretation. There is no indication that these couples sold land to finance their journey, although they may well have sold any livestock given them as a marriage portion (Little, 1991: 98).

Migration Patterns

As indicated earlier, and consistent with the normal patterning in authoritarian families, non-inheriting children could either remain at home with their parents or inheriting sibling for as long as they remained unmarried. Children other than the heir who either got married or whose contribution to the parental farm was not needed appear to have migrated far from the parents' settlement, often going to the United States or newly opened regions of Upper Canada. Surviving records also indicate that migrating siblings rarely settled near one another unless they were able to obtain land in the same district as the parental farm (Little, 1991: 101-102).

Although the data for this family type is limited, what information does exist suggests that family migration, beyond the first transatlantic journey, was not characteristic of Highland Scots, although chain migration along kinship lines was not uncommon before the mid-eighteenth century. Multi-generational migration did occur. However, this does not appear to have been undertaken as part of a strategy to establish sons in close proximity to parents but came about, rather, as the result of a loss of the family property to creditors, with the senior generation tending to be pensioners. That the number of such migrations coincides with the economic recession during the 1870's supports this interpretation, and the author does cite a case in which such a migration was undertaken after the heir lost the farm to creditors (Little, 1991: 98, 174-76). There is no evidence that this multigenerational movement encompassed more than the heir, his wife and children, and his parents; however, it is possible that some of these families joined brothers or sisters who had previously migrated out of the district.

The widespread geographical dispersal of non-inheriting sons noted for Winslow is somewhat different from the pattern of chain migration observed in studies of Scots settlers during an earlier period in which migrants from one region typically migrated to a specific community settled for the most part by

people from the same geographical origins in the old world. The Winslow Scots may have been an anomaly, but a more likely explanation is that after mid-century previously populated regions were no longer able to absorb incoming migrants, and with the development of the railroad network across the continent, migrants no longer had to depend on information from those who preceded them but could scout out locations themselves (Little, 1991: 102).

Discussion

The author of this study argues that more individualistic values had been adopted by third generation Scots from Winslow, and attributes this to the sojourning experience of sons in the United States (Little, 1992: 295-96). This is probably true to the extent that that such experiences encouraged latent tendencies already present (Le Play, 1982: 261). Individualism does not, however, automatically lead to an appreciation of human equality.

In Canadian contexts where economic circumstances favoured the acquisition of land by all or some of the sons, as was the case in areas of eastern Ontario settled by Highland Scots in the decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth century, the systematic inequality characteristic of authoritarian family systems may have been somewhat ameliorated for two reasons. First, the initial size of the land grants this population received meant that during the period before agriculture was fully commercialized, and in the absence of any need to engage in military service, fathers would have been able to establish supernumerary sons on supplementary lots without having to divide their farms. Second, the opportunity to purchase land in adjacent undeveloped areas, although placing non-heirs at an initial disadvantage compared to the heir, meant that the material basis of inequality was not permanent. Over time nevertheless, because this was one of the oldest agricultural regions in Ontario, some form of migration must have been necessary. Comparative data collected for the twenty-year period between 1851 and 1871 shows that the proportion of females to males was higher and the rates of general marital fertility were lower in that county than in most other regions of Ontario (Gagan, 1981: 150-155). That they actually maintained or possibly reduced their population at a time when most other areas of the province were growing as evidenced by a low ratio of males between the ages of 15 and 30 per 1,000 acres of land, seems to

indicate the inheritance practices of this community, like Winslow's, systematically expelled sons (Gagan, 1981; 152).

What effect, if any, the Canadian context would have had on these families with respect to attitudes toward authority are somewhat difficult to gauge as there is little published information or data on the household composition or family lives of third and subsequent generation Scots. Likewise, it is not known the extent to which the senior generation continued to be viewed as primary decision-makers, or whether heirs retained the quasi-political right to exercise authority and to represent and involve the wider family group in relationships with other groups, although this seems to have been the case for wealthy Scots, who would not have required non-heirs to leave for economic reasons. In regions and communities in which the clan structure was imported and sustained over several generations, this may have been the case for ordinary farmers as well.[6] In Glengarry County, for example, it is known that traditional clan leaders were also political leaders in their respective communities (McLean, 1991: 215). In the case of men or families who migrated individually and settled in regions geographically remote from their communities of origin, there is no reason to believe that the acceptance of, or respect for legitimate authority internalized as they were growing up would dissipate completely..

Scottish immigrants reconstituted their traditional family practices in Canada; but this would seem to have been disrupted to some degree as evidenced by the way in which family solidarity was fragmented. It is plausible that the lack of congruence between the broader social context, (for instance, the lack of clan stucture and associated military organization), and family structure in Canada as opposed to Scotland may have contributed to this, however it is unlikely that the set of values associated with the Scottish variant of the ideal-typical authoritarian family model, would have been similarily affected, or at least affected as rapidly in larger, more robust communities.

French-Canadian - Egalitarian Nuclear

The historical literature for this population is to date the most comprehensive and detailed for North America, and has been augmented by field studies since the 1860's. Both diachronic and synchronic community studies make it possible to perceive continuities and changes in practices and, by inference, attitudes, over time. Historical studies of populations living both on seigneurial and non-seigneurial lands can also be compared in order to determine if this had an effect on the ideas or principles guiding behaviour. Except for the data describing French-Canadian families in the Eastern Townships the data are drawn from studies done in a wide variety of locations through time and space.

Ideal-Type Egalitarian Nuclear Families

The Egalitarian Nuclear Family is characterized by three main features: one the equality of brothers (and sometimes sisters) is laid down in inheritance rules; two, cohabitation of married children with parents is discouraged; and three, marriage between the children of brothers is formally proscribed.

Egalitarian Families in European/Old World Contexts

In societies where egalitarian nuclear forms of family were historically dominant, and premortem division of the estate was not forbidden, care for the sick, elderly or otherwise infirm was organized along kinship lines. Aged parents either circulated between the homes of their offspring, or provided one child with a more developed property in exchange for their continued support, although coresidence was not favoured in the latter case. Equality of rights of children in these families meant equality of obligations for their parents' welfare (Goody 1976: 32).

There is some evidence that servanthood was a more or less permanent feature in these regions although it appears to have been more closely related to economic exigencies in rural populations than was the form of servanthood found in other nuclear family regions (Segalen, 1988: 176). The flow of servants

was primarily but not exclusively upward, and in any one region either males or females tended to enter into service, while in absolute nuclear family regions both male and female children were routinely sent out to work as servants (Laslett, 1972: 82; Goody, 1976: 58; Barbagli, 1992: 266-268).

Intergenerational Transmission in Sixteenth Century France

As was the case in most regions of Europe from the Middle Ages, the customary inheritance rules applicable to nobles differed from those for commoners in most provinces. Generalizations about these rules are somewhat difficult to make, however, as although most of these permitted a father to favour one descendant, there appears to have been a great deal of regional variation as to whether this was viewed as an option, as it appears to have been in Brittany, or not, which was the case in at least some eastern and southern regions of France (Le Roy Ladurie, 1976: 54; Cooper, 1976: 272, 273).

Scholars who have examined sixteenth-century customals and actual practices of peasants in France during the sixteenth century have identified four main regionally distinct areas of differentiation (Le Roy Ladurie, 1976: 38). These distinctions between the systems of customary law were not simply theoretical but reflected or led to an emphasis being placed on one or another set of familial roles and relationships (Le Roy Ladurie, 1976: 41).

Not all these data are discussed here, as after 1663 most of the population emigrating to New France originated in the north-western regions of France, primarily from the provinces of Normandy, Brittany, Perch and Ile-de-France/Orleans. In the north west region as a whole, while the dominant peasant/yeoman family structure was egalitarian nuclear, regional differences are evident.[7] What initially appear to be minor differences in practice however, are important nevertheless, not only insofar as they reflect to some extent differences of attitude with respect to equality and liberty, but because it can be assumed that variations in inheritance practices noted for the early years of New France, especially with respect to gender, may be attributable to regional differences originating in France.

In Normandy, parental property was divided equally between sons, in Brittany among all offspring. In these regions of France, gifts, dowries and marriage portions given to children during the lifetime of the father and with his consent, were not permanent, but by law were returned to the paternal estate and divided equally. The father thus had no effective control over the disposition of his property (Le Roy Ladurie, 1976:55).

In the Paris basin, which includes the Ile-de-France-Orleans and Perche, greater stress was placed on the wishes of the parents through the operation of an option-return mechanism (Le Roy Ladurie 1976: 49). Option-return refers to the practice of excluding a portioned child from the inheritance but provides a recall clause - a portioned child could opt to return the marriage portion to the parental estate which was then divided equally among all of the heirs. A child who had been provided with a particularly generous marriage portion often found it more advantageous to retain the portion granted before the parent's death (Le Roy Ladurie, 1976: 51). Thus while the inheritance system was in theory egalitarian, in practice it allowed for the unequal provisioning of the children. Some scholars argue however that option-return was primarily an urban institution, thus it is possible that as the urban population was made up of people all over France the system may have been more flexible to accommodate the variation in regional customary laws (Sabean, 1976: 104).

Intergenerational Transmission, New France/Quebec

Inheritance Laws

Under the seigneurial system specific rules applied to the inheritance of seigneurial lands. As actual practices deviated from these rules, a basic understanding of the Custom of Paris is required in order both to determine the extent of the deviations and to understand why these deviations may have occurred.

In the case of the seigneur, if there were several children the eldest son had a right to half the seigneurie, and the others received equal shares of the rest; if there were only two children, the eldest had a right to two-thirds of the estate. Actual subdivision of seigneuries was relatively rare however, as

principal heirs usually made arrangements to manage the entire estate with shares of the revenues being distributed to residual heirs (Greer, 1985: 72).

In rural French Canada, as in France, part of the patrimony could devolve on a number of occasions: at the time of marriage; the death of one parent; the remarriage of a widowed parent; the death of the last parent; or at the time of the parents' retirement from productive activity (Bouchard, 1983: 38). Inheritance for commoners under the Custom of Paris favoured one equal division of land and all moveables among all children both male and female of the deceased parents, more in line with the egalitarian customs noted for the western regions of France, than those of the Paris-Orleans region (Trudel, 1971: 11; Le Roy La Le Roy Ladurie, 1976: 61). In practice this was somewhat complicated by the existence of a *communaute de biens* that could be left intact after the death of one parent so that a dissolution and real distribution of property could occur some time after the death of one parent (Greer, 1985: 73).[8]

Recognizing the potential for the manipulation of this rule by means of unequal portioning of children at the time of marriage, the Custom of Paris limited preferential treatment of any one heir by providing children with a right referred to as the *legitime*. This *legitime* consisted of one-half of what each child would have received in an equal division of the family property had it been undiminished by any endowments or bequests, and each heir had a right to demand this as minimum inheritance. Brothers and sisters who had been given endowments to the prejudice of siblings *legitimes* were required to compensate them (Greer, 1985: 71-73).

While generally upholding French civil law, the Quebec Act (1774) proclaimed testamentary freedom, but this was not applied to those residing on seigneurial lands until the Civil Code of Quebec came into force in 1866. This Code also extinguished married women's property rights, including widow's automatic rights to assume independent control of her own as well as her husband's property (Greer, 1985: 81, Little, 1991: 119; Nett, 1988: 97).

Seigneuries, 1740-1854

As the power to dispose of wealth according to the wishes of the parents was extremely limited, very few wills were drawn up in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, this does not mean that all heirs actually received equal portions of land or other moveables. Notarial records of seventeenth century Montreal emphasize the pragmatism of the habitants which led them to go beyond the letter of the Custom of Paris without deviating from its spirit, in that equitable settlements were arranged which avoided excessive fragmentation of holdings. All members of the family, including women and children, were involved in making arrangements for the estate, ensuring that the allocation of land and property was done in the interests of all concerned (Greer, 1985: 73-74). In grain-growing localities this was accomplished by transferring land and credit among the heirs so that one or two heirs got the farm and the others were compensated with cash or other benefits (Greer, 1985: 75-76). The cash received by these heirs could be used to pay the seigneurial dues and fees necessary to purchase a concession. Assistance in the form of physical labour was also provided in order to establish siblings on new land.

In some regions and during later decades in particular in New France the law was often set aside and real property transmitted to sons only, to the detriment of daughters (Garigue, 1960: 184).[9] Nevertheless, transmission of land to sons-in-law was not uncommon, which suggests that from the perspective of these families, equal provision was being made for all children, as this transfer normally coincided with marriage (Dechene, 1974 cited in Bouchard 1983: 57).

By the eighteenth century, habitants increasingly moved from the practice of post-mortem inheritance to using a deed in gift to pass on their land and property before they died, thus when they died there was little or nothing left for the heirs to divide. The reasons for this shift are not entirely clear; however, it is known that the earliest settlers, and farmers, those born between 1650 and 1720 had a relatively short life expectancy of 35.5 years which meant that most

offspring would not have reached adulthood prior to the death of one or both of their parents (Quale, 1992: 221). As life expectancy increased parents would probably have become more concerned about making adequate arrangements for their retirement. While the significance of the shift from post- to pre-mortem inheritance should not be overstated for this period it does suggest that parents were assuming more immediate responsibility for the futures of their children.

In addition, after 1760, seigneurs, many of whom were British or American in origin, began to pursue more vigorous colonization policies, completing surveys which permitted fathers to acquire new plots for their sons as they matured. This meant that older sons could often obtain a wilderness lot in the vicinity of the parental home long before the parents were ready to retire. These sons used the parental home as a base while they and their relatives worked at clearing land and constructing the necessary buildings. Transmitting parental property by deed in gift to a child who was ready to marry and take over the farm at the time the parents were ready to retire does not, therefore, necessarily reflect a change in attitudes about equality. Equal division of the parental property at the time of death would have worked to privilege older siblings at the expense of younger ones. One possible change that seems to have occurred in the practices of these families during the latter part of the eighteenth century is that parents delayed transferring the title of farms that were being worked by sons until a few years after they were married. Whether the intention of the parents in doing this was to prolong the period of dependence or whether it was done in order to allow the new family to accumulate funds before they had to fulfil the commitments associated with a deed in gift is not clear, although regardless of the intentions of the parents, the newly married couples were somewhat less independent as a consequence.

In the agricultural regions of the Lower Richelieu between 1740 and 1840, parents divided their property among as many of their children as possible through a deed of gift, each of whom was required to provide the parents with food and other supplies or a cash annually (Greer, 1985: 224, 230). As well as ensuring their own old age, parents fulfilled their obligation to younger children by these means as payments made prior to their actual retirement could be used to purchase additional lots. In regions where agriculture was supplemented by wage labour, in the fur and ship-building trades for example, equal division of

family property was more easily accomplished as families did not require more than a basic food supply from the land, meaning that large properties could be subdivided for a longer period of time, and that the purchase of smaller rotures was viable (Greer, 1985: 192).

Until the 1830's, deeds in gift clearly retained the egalitarian ethos of the Custom of Paris. Even in cases where the parental farm was ceded to a single child, arrangements were made to ensure that any co-heirs, younger children in particular, were compensated, and in many cases the consent of the co-heirs was obtained when the deed of gift was prepared (Greer, 1985: 78). After that time, access to land became difficult, and it is then that apparently new strategies emerged to deal with the changed circumstances.

Beginning in the 1830's the *legitime* guaranteeing the rights of all heirs appears to have faded into the background, with parents increasingly making a unilateral decision as to which heir would inherit the parental farm (Greer, 1985: 80-80). As the heir who took over the farm normally resided with the retired parents, this has been taken by some to indicate that an originally egalitarian family system had evolved into a form of stem family system (Greer, 1985: 80; Bouchard, 1977: 364). However, although the co-residence rule normally observed in egalitarian nuclear families seems to have been relaxed, this change in residence rules occurred during the earliest years of settlement, when it was, at least in theory, possible for most parents to provide equally for all of their children, and data relative to the structuring of family relationships within the co-residential unit does not entirely support this interpretation.

Ceding the more fully developed and productive family property to a particular heir in exchange for security in old age is a logical step in a system where all heirs receive a portion of the patrimony, and in the absence of other forms of old age security. Cross-cultural research suggests that in many communities, the retention of property rights, either actual or usufruct, by parents, is a strategy frequently employed to ensure the interests of the parents in social contexts where pre-mortem inheritance is the rule (Brettell, 1991: 350). As long as the senior generation remained alive, a deed in gift could be retroceded if the cedant did not fulfil the conditions stipulated in the contract. There is also evidence that the clauses governing the provisioning of parents

were sometimes annulled after a few years if the young couple found the annual obligations too burdensome (Greer, 1985: 79).

That children did not feel obligated to support their parents in old age may be inferred from the existence of pre-1760's intendants' ordinances compelling heirs and in-laws of aged and destitute individuals to provide for them, and by the nature of the donation agreements characteristic of this population well into the nineteenth century (Moogk, 1982: 42). Deeds in gift which spell out the beneficiaries obligations to the donors in painstaking detail are characteristically found in egalitarian nuclear regions and suggest a lack of confidence in a son's or daughter's sense of filial obligation, or rather recognize their greater loyalty and commitment to their own spouses and families. Deeds of gift drawn up by authoritarian families, on the other hand, are typically less detailed and rarely specify the annual food provisions to be given to parents (Stone, 1981; 69-70; Little, 1991; 122). This last observation also suggests that in the case of the egalitarian nuclear family the senior and junior generations were perceived to be members of distinct households, at least at the level of consumption, even when the actual residence was shared. In addition, it should be noted that these agreements were often the product of negotiation, the parents occasionally having to make do with relatively modest provision in exchange for the support of the child with whom they would live. There is also some evidence that in cases where a father attempted to retain control over the management of a farm after it had been ceded to a son, this son would renounce the succession (Little, 1991; 124; Verdon, 1980: 113).

United Empire Loyalists, 1785-1820

While the seigneurial land tenure system acted as a constraint, in that farmers were reluctant to pay rents on additional lots before they were required for maturing children, there is some evidence to suggest that even on the seigneuries land acquisition strategies may have been influenced by other factors. In 1785, the adjoining seigneuries of Delery and Lacolle in the Upper Richelieu Valley, held by the same seigneur, were newly colonized by French-Canadian and United Empire Loyalist settlers. The strategy used by French-Canadian farmers to acquire land for maturing sons was similar to that observed in earlier settled seigneuries. That is, land was accepted by the father who

acted as guarantor for his son until he became of age and had the deed ratified (Greer, 1985: 83; Noel, 1978: 163).

In the case of the United Empire Loyalists, any additional lands appear to have been granted to fathers only, although at least some of these had maturing sons.[10] Some of these Loyalists had also been granted lots under freehold tenure in the townships but many sold these lots rather than passing them on to their descendants (Noel, 1978: 163, 174). While it has been noted that the size of the Loyalist's original farms were comparatively large, additional research would be required in order to determine the manner in which title was passed to children or if they were expected to acquire land elsewhere on their own. It is known that in colonial Massachusetts fathers tended to delay the transfer of title of farms that had been worked by sons until they were middle-aged (Henretta, 1978: 6). Although the surviving documents list the names of most of these settlers, and the region of the United States they migrated from, it is not known how long they lived there prior to 1785 (Noel, 1978: 168).

Practices in Townships, 1848-1881

The following data are drawn from the historical studies of families that settled in Winslow Township from 1848. Details of the conditions of colonization, including size of grants and geographical location are identical to those described in the previous section for Scottish settlers on pages 59 and 60.

Land pressure was almost certainly a factor in the movement of the French-Canadian population into the Eastern Townships from the seigneuries. This was a consequence, not only of natural increase, but increased commercialization of agriculture as the American market opened up in 1849.[11] The average farm size on the seigneuries grew from 58.6 arpents in 1844 to 84.6 arpents in 1851, with cleared land increasing from 23.3 to 37.6 arpents as commercial agriculture increased in importance (Little, 1991: 30).

The data gathered and analyzed on the population who migrated to the colonization zone in the Upper St. Francis District provides reasonably detailed information as to the family relationships among the settlers. Although precise

genealogical analysis has not been undertaken, the existence of strong cognatic ties among the French-Canadian pioneers is strongly suggested by the linkages between family names on a detailed census list prepared by the crown land agent in 1850.

Many settlers were young men, often single or with young families under the age of ten, who claimed lots adjacent to next of kin, most frequently brothers and often fathers (Little, 1989: 93-94). The migration of closely related families facilitated mutual family assistance which explains how so many of these families were able to become colonists while their children were very young (Little, 1991: 43). Research in other regions colonized by the French-Canadian population also reflects a pattern of family assistance. Later studies of French Canadian communities show that because of the difference in the ages of siblings in these families this assistance often took the form of nephews assisting on the farm of an uncle whose own children were not old enough or numerous enough to help with clearing or farming tasks (Miner, 1939: 64, 153).[12] Although the author of the Winslow study does not specify how brothers helped one another, there is no reason to believe that such assistance did not take this form during earlier periods as well.

Land Acquisition and Intergenerational Transmission

Land acquisition practices were fairly straightforward in most instances. In addition to the 50 acre free grant, approximately half the settlers paid a location fee for a lot in the rear concessions. It is assumed that these lots were exploited primarily for their timber, or used as sugar-lots as most of them were never patented or occupied (Little, 1991: 66, 73).

Nineteen out of twenty-nine of the French-Canadian wills and deeds in gift notarized in Winslow between 1860 and 1880 specify only one heir. If however, two or three of the older sons had acquired free grants earlier, and/or other sons had been assisted informally to acquire property or other means to establish a family prior to the retirement or death of the senior generation, a marked shift away from the principle of equality cannot be implied.

Where deeds of gift did provide for more than one offspring, equitable division of real estate among sons, and in some cases sons-in-law, was the normal pattern. That property registered in a husband's name continued to be considered conjugal property may be inferred from the existence and content of reciprocal wills, most of which simply designated the other spouse as heir (Little, 1991: 117). These wills transferred to the widow full economic rights to alienate the land and to stipulate her own heir, not simply usufructuary rights and, unlike wills examined in regions outside Quebec, widow's continued rights to the property inherited from their husbands were not affected or restricted by remarriage (Gagan, 1981: 55; Elliott, 1988: 200). It is possible that the sons-in-law who were provided with land were also nephews; Verdon (1980: 114) found that between 1885 and 1920 up to 17% of marriages consecrated in one community in Lac St. Jean were between consanguineous kin. However as this was calculated based on the prohibited degrees of the Church, which forbid marriages between relatives up to the fourth degree of collaterality, it is difficult to determine how many of these marriages were between children of brothers or brothers and sisters.

In one case for which documentation exists, the farmer Richard, who acquired a free grant in 1850, paid location fees for another lot in 1855, and purchased two privately held lots in 1862 and 1870. In 1866 he and his wife mortgaged the free lot as security for one son's rental of a blacksmith shop and in 1872, they divided four lots among three other sons and a son-in-law in exchange for cash payments or pensions alimentaire. No formal provision was made for the eldest son in this case, although records indicate that he was experiencing financial difficulties by that time (Little, 1991: 115). No reason is given for this exclusion, but a number of possibilities can be suggested.

First, the three sons and son-in-law had in all likelihood been farming the land prior to the formal transfer in 1872; as the prospect of marriage was not generally entertained unless some means of support was assured. Data on families living on seigneurial lands indicate parents usually acquired additional lots in anticipation of the marriage of a child, although these lands were often not formally transferred by deed in gift for up to six years (Greer, 1985: 75, 222).

Second, there may have been some animosity between this son and his parents. Studies of earlier historical periods reveal that even under the Custom of Paris, animosity between parents and children often resulted in withdrawal of assistance by the parents although such measures were often successfully challenged by the courts (Moogk, 1982: 22-23).

Third, this son may have been informally assisted by his parents to acquire a free grant at the time of his marriage in 1860, who may have provided either money (as either a gift or loan), materials and/or the labour of family members - practices that have been noted for other newly colonized regions of Quebec (Bouchard, 1983: 40). That more members of the second generation acquired land in Winslow than there were deeds in gift lends some support to the third possibility (Little, 1991: 117). In egalitarian family systems, the primary concern is to provide children with equal opportunities to establish themselves, but these opportunities are in a sense provisional, divergences of fortune which occur after the initial assistance is provided are not viewed as having to be corrected (Todd, 1985: 110).

Migration Patterns

Seasonal migration in regions where such activity was required/possible was undertaken by heads of households as well as unmarried adolescent and adult sons in areas where agriculture was considered to be the primary economic activity. In Winslow, as was the case in the Lac St. Jean and Ottawa valley regions, seasonal off-farm labour connected with the forest industry was the major source of cash income. In Winslow farmers supplied the lumber companies with logs as independent farmers; in Lac St. Jean and the Ottawa valley participants in the lumber industry tended to be part-time wage labourers (Little, 1989:33). That fathers as well as sons engaged in this form of labour was to some extent dictated by the size of the families they had to support. What is possibly of greater importance with regard to family relations is that in the case of those who worked as wage labourers, the generational distinction between fathers and older sons in particular would have been de-emphasized (Verdon, 1980: 116).

Younger sons and daughters were allowed to earn money elsewhere on a year round basis, but were required to turn over any accumulated savings to their parents when they returned home, which in Winslow was normally after just a few months (Fortin, 1964: 94; Little, 1991: 100). Older children, on the other hand, were permitted to keep their earnings although they continued to contribute their labour to the parental farm when not engaged in work that took them away from home. Once the family farm had been ceded to a sibling, usually the son or daughter who reached maturity at the time the parents were ready to retire, younger brothers left home permanently as they reached adulthood and there is some evidence which suggests that these brothers may in some cases have relocated to the communities where older brothers had migrated to with their own families (Hareven, 1994: 24). Unmarried sisters who remained in the family home after it had been ceded to a brother were required to turn over any wages they had earned to the new owner regardless of age (Little, 1991: 121).

Between 1838 and the 1920's the rates of family migration as inferred from diennial census records in most of the communities that have been studied was extremely high, in some cases approaching 65 per cent, but clustering around the 45 per cent mark (Bouchard, 1977; 363; Little, 1991; 95). This is no doubt related to the higher than usual nuptuality and fertility rates in these populations compared with other colonizing groups, particularly as the commercialization of agriculture increased. The increase in farm size that this entailed meant that the equal provisioning of all offspring or even of male offspring was no longer a possibility for most families living in developed regions. These families were thus faced with a number of options, some of which may have had implications with respect to the structuring of family relationships.

While the records are not sufficiently detailed to determine how many of these families disappeared as a result of a failure to establish and operate a successful farm, studies of destination communities suggest that these may have been a minority. A substantial number of families appear to have sold their existing land and moved to less developed regions where they could establish their children on inexpensive uncleared crown land and remain in close geographical proximity (Little, 1991: 94, Bouchard and Pourbaix, 1987: 228-29).

Although the authors of most studies recognize that multiple migrations were common after the 1830's, most have not commented on the patterning of these migrations. Families appear to have migrated at two different stages of family development. The first of these migrations occurred at a relatively early stage, with young married couples with incomplete families who had presumably had property or moveables to sell, migrating to a region where a farm could be procured adjacent to undeveloped land.[13] As the size of the family increased, and if it became apparent that sufficient land could not be acquired to establish younger children, a second migration to a newly opened region would be made.[14] The first move would often be undertaken by a group of brothers, each with his own family, and occasionally with the parental family as well, who were often migrating for the second time.[15]

That the migration of extended family groups was such a integral part of the developmental cycle of significant numbers of families suggests that while preserving equality among children, or at least making adequate provision for all of them was the motivating factor in undertaking such moves, it is likely that the families who made such moves believed that this was best accomplished within the context of the extended family unit. Solidarity between brothers in particular appears to have been strengthened to a degree often, not always, seen in north western regions of France or even during the period when step-by-step colonization of the seigneuries was taking place.[16] During that period, brothers had settled close to one another because the land was available, not out of any conscious desire to maintain contact. When land was no longer available in these regions, men contemplating a move had to make a conscious choice to do so on their own or in the company of their brothers. Families who migrated a second time, that is in cases where fathers with minor children migrated in the company of their married sons, would not necessarily have strengthened the relations between the generations although they may have maintained them.

This movement of families out of developed regions permitted the accumulation of land in that region by persisting families, and, where transportation routes permitted, in-migrating families in the first stage of development. Most persisting families, that is, those with maturing families who

either chose not to or could not move would probably not have been able to accumulate sufficient land for all of their sons. One study estimates that at mid-century most parents would have been able to establish a minimum of two to three sons locally, including the son who was ceded the family farm in regions where forestry-related work was available. Although an upper limit is not provided, this would still leave a number of children to provide for, given the large family size of this population(Bouchard, 1983: 39).

Even in regions where seasonal wage labour in the forest industry was common, work in this industry was inherently temporary and job security extended only day-to-day (Gaffield, 1987:84). Land in these regions was no less essential than in regions where agriculture was fully commercialized, as the actual survival of the family depended on what they could produce (Bouchard, 1977: 365). Work in the lumber industry or associated tasks contributed to income and generated in some cases the cash required to purchase additional land for sons or moveables for daughters, but was not viewed as a viable occupation in its own right until the mid-twentieth century (Falardeau, 1964: 102; Gaffield, 1982: 187). The questions that arise for these families are: what became of these younger siblings and what effect if any did these circumstances have on the values of equality and universality associated with egalitarian nuclear families? Did the principle of equality retain the same meaning and importance for the second and succeeding generations?

Discussion

The pattern of land and property transfers in studies of families who settled permanently in fully developed communities (in communities that did not border on undeveloped land) for more than one generation, seems to mirror that documented for absolute nuclear families in England; that is, where sufficient land had been accumulated by the father, it was transmitted to children as they married, with those who did not receive land being provided with moveables and cash. In practice, then, the principle of equality of opportunity implicit in the practices of ideal-type egalitarian nuclear families appears to have been eroded. Although in some circumstances the money provided is used to educate sons who do not inherit land and is viewed as an equivalent compensation, the nature

of the family economy in most rural regions did not permit families to provide education for their children beyond the age of twelve. Even after a form of public education was introduced following 1820, these sons were needed on the farm while their fathers and older brothers worked in the forest industry (Gaffield, 1987: 107; Little, 1991: 225).

Nevertheless, if the principle of equality or the meaning of equality was altered within these families, the relationship between the generations does not appear to have been significantly altered. Until at least the second quarter of the twentieth century, fathers continued to be seen as responsible for the establishment of all of their children and children were expected to and usually did comply with the fathers' wishes (Miner, 1939: 80, 84, 86).

During the period between 1720 and approximately 1800 the practices and patterns of behaviour of those French-Canadian families who had land appear to have conformed to the ideal-type egalitarian nuclear family structure as described by Todd. The modifications in practices noted were congruent with the Canadian context of that time. The shift to co-residence of parents and a married child was not predicated on an authority relationship, but was a pragmatic adjustment required in a frontier setting. One potential problem that this new arrangement posed that is not usually a consideration in nuclear family systems where co-residence can be avoided is the introduction of the wife into the household. In ideal-type authoritarian families this problem is dealt with either by delayed transmission of the patrimony which reduces the length of time of co-residence, or the active involvement of the parents in the selection of a marriage partner. Although the Custom of Paris gave parents the legal right to disinherit a child who had not reached the age of majority if their choice of marriage partner did not meet with their approval, most French-Canadian men did not marry before they reached this age. It is not clear what degree of influence parents were actually able to exert (Moogt, 1982: 23). That such a law even existed implies that the individuals, not the parents, were the ones controlling the decision. In regions where the ideal-type family is authoritarian there would be no need for such a law. The change in inheritance practices also seem to have been more apparent than real during this period. While the parental farm may have been transferred to a single child, it was in order to preserve the principle of equality.

As land became increasingly scarce in the early nineteenth century, two new patterns of family behaviour emerged. One of these involved the sequential migration of extended family units which took them into the United States and newly-opened regions of Quebec and Eastern Ontario. While apparently motivated by a desire to maintain the principle of equality between brothers, or rather to establish all of their children, this form of migration also implies an uncharacteristic degree of fraternal solidarity. In the classical ideal-type egalitarian nuclear family, this form of solidarity is not normally extended into adulthood (Todd, 1985: 110).

In cases where people made a conscious decision not to move, or if they were unable to move to a region where either land or work was available, the principle of universal equality could not be sustained at the level of practice, yet there is little evidence of systematic inequality or the development of the kind of authoritarian relations seen in either ideal-typic authoritarian or community families. Children may have been taught to obey their parents and treat them with respect but the same thing could be said of any form of family.

Todd's static model of the egalitarian nuclear family does not provide sufficient expanation for these emergent patterns of behaviour. That is, his model accounts for motivation, but fail to explicate the implications of either the new migration practices or changed conditions for those who did not migrate.

English - Absolute Nuclear

The data forming the basis of this section are drawn primarily from a study of Peel County in southern Ontario, and to a lesser extent, a study of communities formed by immigrants from the northern portion of Tipperary County Ireland. Peel County, which was comprised of Albion, Caledon, Chinguacousy, Toronto, and the Gore of Toronto townships was settled, like most regions of Upper Canada, primarily by people whose roots were in the British Isles. The distribution in per cent of heads of families by place of birth in 1852 is as follows: England, 21.7 %; Ireland, 50% (89% Protestant); Scotland, 13%; USA, 2.9%; BNA provinces, 12.1%, and Other, 0.2% (Gagan, 1981: 38).

That such a high percentage of Irish families were Protestant is significant as it may have some bearing on the family structure of that portion of the population. While anthropological studies indicate that the ideal-type family structure in most regions of Ireland corresponded to a stem or authoritarian system, an English presence had been established in southern Ireland in the seventeenth century following the Cromwellian invasions 1640 (Gallaher, 1980: 28). The author of the study of North Tipperary Irish communities in Canada has established that the Protestant population of that region were primarily descendants of English settlers who migrated to the region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although some traced their ancestry to Protestant German settlers who migrated to Ireland at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Elliott, 1988; 18-20).

While the researchers who compiled the Peel County data do not correlate the origins or place of birth of the decedent with the type of settlement made, the manner in which property was devised in a majority of these documents is both consistent with the principles implicit in an absolute nuclear family system, and contain features not found for the most part in those vehicles of intergenerational transfer associated with either egalitarian nuclear or authoritarian families.

Ideal-type Absolute Nuclear Families

The three main features distinguishing ideal-type absolute nuclear families are: ambiguity with respect to the equality of brothers, reflected in the imprecise nature of inheritance rules and the frequent use of wills; no cohabitation of married children with their parents; and no marriage between the children of brothers.

Absolute Nuclear Families in European Contexts

That a father is free to disinherit some or all of his children implies the existence of some form of institution or institutions which permits or allows for the denial of the familial bond. In England, where documented evidence for this form of family structure dates from the fourteenth century, and in other regions

where this form of family was common, several such institutions served this purpose.[17] These included the circulation of servants, male and female, between the ages of 10 and 29, among households, which not only provided a period of semi-autonomy for youths prior to marriage, but allowed for the accumulation of funds, material goods and skills necessary for the establishment of their own households (Wall, 1983a: 15). The dominant form of servanthood in rural regions represented a movement between groups of similar status, although there was also a supply of servants from lower to upper classes (Goody, 1990: 147; Hajnal, 1983; 97). Those who operated their own farms, and even large farmers, sent their children into service elsewhere, sometimes replacing them with hired servants in their own households (Hajnal, 1983: 95).

Service on its own is not a sufficient guarantee of independence after marriage, as accumulated savings are often absorbed by the process of establishing a new household. There must therefore be opportunities both for service before marriage and some prospect of independent employment after marriage in contexts where access to land is limited (Wall, 1983a: 14). In England, which had a relatively diversified economy from the fourteenth century, opportunities for non-agricultural employment and of hired labour gave individuals the possibility of forming households without first having obtained access to land (Wall, 1983a; 15-16). In addition, the care for the sick and for the old was provided by non-kinship institutions such as the parish, the manor, guilds, and religious fraternities (Macfarlane, 1987: 151).

Intergenerational Transmission - England[18]

A major feature that distinguished the English system of devolution from those of most regions of continental Europe until the nineteenth century was the flexibility the law. In practice, a man (or unmarried woman) could give away, sell or divise any or all of his real estate, excepting the widow's share, either in his life (from the thirteenth century) or by will (from the sixteenth century). Only if he failed to do so would the estate, by custom or common law, descend to the eldest male heir, a practice referred to as primogeniture (Macfarlane, 1987: 19; Thompson ,1976: 352).

Apart from the monarchy, there were no hereditary ranks or estates based on blood and law in England and testamentary freedom applied to people at all levels of society (Macfarlane, 1987: 164; Thirsk, 1976: 184-85). Villein inheritance, as opposed to yeoman inheritance, was of course not formally recognized in English common law; as a tenant owned no property of his own, legally he could not transmit property. Manorial courts nevertheless upheld the customary right of villeins to transmit leases, as did the common law courts in some cases, and it was not uncommon for villeins to make wills (Howell, 1976: 118).

In the case of intestacy, however, a distinction was made between the elite classes of landholders and yeomen and villeins. With respect to the former, primogeniture did indeed mean that children other than the eldest son were effectively disinherited as these families derived their prestige, income and political influence from the ownership of large properties (Kiernan, 1976: 390; Macfarlane, 1987: 19). At the peasant level, however, where land was more likely to be viewed as a source of livelihood rather than of political power, primogeniture for socage holders did not entitle the eldest son to all the family holdings, but only to the first choice: if there was only one farm, he should have it, but if there were more than one, the others should go to the remaining children in order of seniority, and those who received no land should receive the equivalent in cash or in kind. Even in gavelkind areas where the father's lands in theory descended to all his heirs in equal proportions, the same principles were applied in practice (Howell, 1976: 116-117).

Background

Although Peel County had been opened for settlement in 1806, the of War of 1812-14 interrupted the settlement process: much of the county was not surveyed; and most settlers did not arrive until after 1819 (Gagan, 1981: 20). In 1820, the county was a vast reserve of wild land open to settlement by those who had the resources to do so. The more southerly townships appear to have attracted the earliest settlers, and it is known that some of the North Tipperary Irish settled in the townships of Toronto and the Gore of Toronto in 1819 (Elliott, 1988; 117, 252). After 1828 the great migrations from the British Isles rapidly populated the region, and by 1835, more than three-quarters of the land that

would be privately owned in 1852 was already taken up. By 1840's any capital a new arrival had often had to be used to purchase expensive improved land rather than to improve cheap uncleared land (Gagan, 1981: 34, 36).

The pioneer phase, characterized by economic and social underdevelopment, with rudimentary transportation systems and few urban centres lasted approximately until 1840. By the mid-1840's, the opening of the American market for Canadian agricultural products promoted a system of extensive cropping and the average farm size increased from 98 acres to 140 acres by 1860 (Gagan, 1981: 44).

The rapid growth of urban centres during this decade was mainly the result of transatlantic immigration, not rural to urban migration. For example, Hamilton's population, a few thousand in 1846, increased by 150% by 1850 and less than 10 % of the population were Canadian-born (Katz, 1975: 2). In the 1850's, the coming of the railroad intensified market orientation and surplus production increased by 100 per cent over the previous decade (Gagan, 1981: 12). The opening up of the market and rapidly growing urban centres did not translate into increased economic alternatives to agriculture in rural areas, however. Even during this phase of expansion, towns in most areas of the county, with the exception of Brampton, were agricultural service centres and the numbers of non-agricultural opportunities remained constant (Gagan, 1981: 109).

During this decade as well, Irish famine immigration precipitated a new wave of migration into the county which drove up land prices. Most of the newcomers to the county were not recent immigrants from Ireland, however, but first-generation immigrants with Canadian-born children. Whether they came from older farming areas after having sold their farms, or from established towns and villages with capital acquired through a trade or day labour, is not known for most of these settlers (Gagan, 1981: 37).

Land Acquisition Strategies

By the late 1830's in this county as in other counties opened for settlement in the 1820's, most new immigrants whether single or married men

with families, worked as tradesmen or labourers for up to ten years prior to purchasing a farm, although some were able to lease land under sharecropping agreements (Elliott, 1988; 141,180, 222; Gagan, 1981: 36).

The importance of children to the development and economic improvement of the farms of cash-poor immigrant families during periods of chronic labour shortages has been well-documented for all parts of Ontario (Elliott, 1988: 216; Gagan, 1981: 44; Gaffield, 1987: 67). These contributions seem to have been voluntary as there is no indication that young men under the age of majority who wished to work outside the household were required, as they were in New England in the early decades of the nineteenth century, to buy their economic freedom, undertaking written contracts to pay their parents a certain sum in return for their freedom (Henretta, 1978: 32).

According to written sources left by settlers, many parents in Peel county felt their children had legitimate expectations of future compensation commensurate with their contribution to the family enterprise (Gagan,1981: 44). This reliance by parents on the labour of their own children contrasts with the patterning of household organization in rural England where children were more commonly circulated as servants or labourers between households on a year-round basis.[19] Some 22% of families in the County did hire servants and labourers on a seasonal basis or when their own children were too young to contribute to the enterprise. These, however, were not normally the children of neighbouring farmers, but recent immigrants from Britain, single, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-nine, and landless and unskilled (Gagan and Mays, 1971: 45).

Prior to mid-century, it was possible for some farmers to accumulate land for each of their sons regardless of family size, and many farmers did assist their sons in this manner. In some cases, farmers living in this county sold land to each of their sons including the home farm, but it is not known if all or any of these sons were required to pay full market price (Gagan, 1976: 135; Akenson, 1984: 64). In the North Tipperary communities in the Ottawa valley and London regions, however, sons purchased their land from their parents at below market

value. The author of this study argues that these sons who purchased farms from their parents would likely have received the land as bequest; but as they needed the land in order to get married they reimbursed their parents against future income lost by giving up the farm (Elliott, 1988:197). In Ireland, it was apparently customary for the heir in authoritarian family regions to buy the land from his father, and while researchers have found no evidence for this practice in England, it is possible that the descendants of the English settlers to Ireland adopted this practice as well (Howell, 1976: 143-144).

There is some evidence as well that even after 1850 some fathers provided money to older sons to help them become established as tenant farmers, if not owners, prior to making their wills, although how prevalent this is not known as such informal arrangements are difficult to trace (Gagan, 1981: 54, 91). There is also virtually no information about the provisions farmers may have made to assist older sons settle or become established in newly-opened townships prior to the parents death. In the North Tipperary Irish communities such arrangements were apparently not unusual among more prosperous families (Elliott. 1988: 221).

Only about one-third of families who became permanent residents of Chinguacousy township expanded their farms between 1850 and 1870. Approximately half of these families acquired the equivalent of at least one additional farm or 100 acres by 1870(Gagan, 1981: 48). The characteristics of these farmers in comparison with those who remained permanently in the township and did not expand their farms is of interest as they illustrate to some extent, the contingent nature of family strategies.

Married men who were between the ages of 25 and 34, and who had no children in 1852, formed the largest cohort of expansionist families, followed by men between the ages of 35 and 44 who had between one and three children. Men whose families were probably completed (those with between four and six children at home), were the least likely to purchase additional land, in part because of the costs associated with rearing that number of children, and possibly because they were reluctant to increase the financial obligations that taking out a mortgage would impose. Farm expansion seems to have been predicated on the anticipated needs of growing families, perhaps with the

intention of establishing maturing children. The pattern of land acquisition of some of the Ottawa valley Irish in the late 1820's appears to have been similar (Elliott, 1988, 214-215). Nevertheless, few farmers would have been able to predict either the size of their completed families or more importantly, that land prices would increase dramatically after the 1850's.

Recurrent seasonal migration to labour in a specific location or industry annually does not seem to have been a common pattern of supplementing farm incomes in Peel County. Labour migration of young Canadian-born rural inhabitants tended to be localized in the case of young offspring, and took the form of temporary service with neighbours during periods of economic crisis (Gagan, 1981: 85). There is no evidence that mature offspring who did leave their parents' farm to take up work felt obliged to continue supporting the family farm. In the Prescott County and Ottawa valley regions, the lumber industry did make it possible for young men to earn wages which could be used to purchase land or supplement farming. It is known that both French and English-speaking men from these regions worked in the lumber industry, but it is not possible to determine if there were similarities or differences in patterns of employment among family members as the published material does not contain sufficient detail.[20]

Intergenerational Transmission

The inheritance laws in British North America, as in other Common Law countries allowed complete testamentary freedom although if a man left a widow, by law she retained an interest in one third of her husbands estate for as long as she lived. In the case of intestates, prior to 1852 the law stipulated that the principal heir was the eldest male child in order to guarantee the historical continuity of landed property, its perquisites, and obligations. If the deceased had no male heirs, real estate was divided equally among the daughters. After 1852 property of intestates was divided equally among all of the surviving heirs.[21] The act recognized that some members of the family might wish to buy out the interest of the others, but stated that the parties authorized to make partitions of the real estate were to give preference to the person who would have been heir-at-law had Section 22, and subsequent sections of the act not

been passed - in other words according to the principles of primogeniture (Elliott, 1988: 210).

What has been termed the "Canadian" system of inheritance was the most common mechanism for transmitting property to descendants by the mid-nineteenth century. The wholesale adoption by Upper Canadian farmers with large as well as small farms, some of whom had no underaged children, of this particular system of devolution has earned it this name. In fact this system was often used in England by smallholders with underaged children to provide for (Gagan, 1981: 57; Spufford, 1976: 171). The percentage of farmers who notarized wills of this type in Peel county increased from just under 40 per cent in 1845-55 to approximately 75 per cent in the succeeding decades (Gagan, 1981: 52).[22]

This system involved devising the entire estate on one heir who was then required to provide out of his own resources more or less equitably for the non-heirs. There were exceptions of course, and not all sons and daughters received an inheritance. In approximately 14 per cent of wills which mention sons, at least one son was excluded, and in those that mention daughters, at least one was excluded (Gagan, 1976: 135). Adult brothers who remained unmarried when the heir took legal possession of the farm were rarely given rights of domicile after the fathers death, and were obliged to leave (Gagan, 1981: 54). Surviving unmarried daughters were accorded rights of domicile in addition to the legacy stipulated by their father, which was payable at the time of marriage.

In some cases, mortgages which were granted to designated heirs by parents before their deaths provided security for retired parents and other dependents in return for early title to the land (Elliott, 1988: 212; Gagan, 1976: 134). While residential arrangements are not noted for Peel County, families in the Ottawa Valley occasionally drew up separate legal agreements stipulating that the parents were to receive a house lot somewhere on the property, presumably in order to avoid co-residing with the son. Wills in Peel county as well as those of the Tipperary Irish often specified that a widow was to either

have exclusive use of specific rooms in an existing house, or that a separate house was to be built for her (Elliott, 1988: 200, 212; Gagan, 1981: 55-56).

In cases where more than one heir received real property, (most farmers bequeathed real property to no more than two children) the improved family farm was normally devised upon older sons and unmarried daughters or wives. More than half the younger sons and more than three quarters of daughters who also came into possession of real property received undeveloped land either elsewhere in the county or totally outside of it (Gagan, 1976: 136).

In cases where farms were smaller than average, i.e. less than 50 acres, the tendency was to divide the estate equally among surviving children. No research has been done to indicate whether the estate was commonly reconstituted by one of the heirs in these cases, or whether each of the heirs sold his portion to expanding farmers in the region.[23]

The practice of devising the family estate on a single heir, with no formal provision made for other descendants, decreased dramatically after 1845-55, dropping from 32 per cent to an average of 16 per cent over the next four decades. Without additional information as to what if any informal provisions were made for non-heirs, however, it is not possible to determine with any degree of certainty how relationships within these families were structured. Single-heir inheritance is not inconsistent with the principles underlying egalitarian nuclear family systems when earlier equitable provision has been made for non-heirs; in authoritarian systems in which non-heirs have an implicit claim, however weak, on the estate; or absolute nuclear family systems which allow for the disinheritance of children.

Widows' dower rights (one third interest in their husbands' real property) were normally conveyed to the new owner in return for adequate compensation. In less than a quarter of the "Canadian" wills were widows' dower rights conveyed as capital or land. Normally her interest was held in trust by the heir who was to provide prescribed amounts and types of food, shelter and domestic services. Many wills stipulated that should the widow remarry or cohabit, her rights of domicile or income were forfeit. As married women could not hold title

to land until the 1870's, this was more than likely a precaution taken to ensure that property eventually passed to a man's heirs rather than to the new husband (Elliott, 1988: 200). Contemporary accounts indicate that most widows had little influence as decision-makers if they resided in the homes of their sons. Rather, daughters-in law assumed the bulk of domestic duties and decision-making (Gagan, 1981; 56).

Residual heirs, those who received a cash bequest, were more often than not required to leave the county, either to obtain land, learn a trade, or find employment as a labourer. As has been indicated, it was only possible for a cash-poor aspiring farmer to obtain cheap or free arable in newly-colonized regions and frontiers. It has been estimated that approximately 80 per cent of the surviving children mentioned in wills, including those who received property outside the county, may have had to leave the region (Gagan, 1976: 136).

Migration Patterns

Approximately 40 per cent of the farmers present in Peel County in 1851 are estimated to have emigrated out of the region by 1860, and that emigration continued to be consistently high into the next two decades (Gagan and Mays, 1973; 43; Gagan, 1981: 123). Their properties do not appear to have been purchased by or for non-inheriting children of farmers who remained in the region, however, but by incoming middle-aged immigrants who had the capital required for such purchases (Gagan and Mays, 1973: 44). While many of the migrating farmers were those who held under 50 acres, which were not economically viable in a commercially-oriented agricultural region, many farmers also sold, or occasionally abandoned larger improved farms that would have provided a viable living for one descendant.

There is now ample evidence that the migration of nuclear families, undertaken with the explicit intention of establishing all of the male heirs, was not uncommon in North America, although how statistically widespread this practice was is not yet known (Darroch, 1981:265. Elliott, 1988: 188).[24] As was the case with families originating in French-speaking regions of Quebec, families which had been economically successful and established in Ontario, migrated to

newly surveyed regions in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, and the United States where sons would be able to establish themselves on the land. As late as 1879, the American consul at Sarnia reported that Canadian farmers emigrating to the United States were doing so in order to provide their grown sons with land (Gagan, 1981: 124).

These migrations appear to have differed from those of the egalitarian nuclear families, in that such migrations typically occurred at a later stage of family development. The parents of these families were typically in their forties or early fifties with children who were almost fully grown (Elliott, 1988; 189; Gagan, 1981: 123). Migration of extended kin groups, with several brothers and their families migrating together, does not appear to have been a common pattern; nor was multigenerational family migration. These long-distance migrations were neighbourhood, rather than family migrations, with unrelated families from a particular settlement migrating at approximately the same time to a newly opened region (Elliott, 1988: 185).

Some evidence for the chain migration of brothers with maturing families exists for the periods between 1820 and 1830, and 1870 and 1880, but this does not appear to have been part of a family strategy per se but due to the fact that land was available in a particular region (Gaffield, 1982: 188). Other evidence suggests that brothers were just as likely to settle in a widely dispersed pattern as in the same location (Elliott, 1988: 204; Gagan, 1981: 123). Anecdotal evidence indicates that mutual assistance on farms was commonly provided by unrelated neighbours and possibly cousins who migrated to the same region rather than by immediate family members during the homesteading period, likely because the latter were simply not there (Elliott, 1988: 187-190).[25] There is no consistent pattern of multiple migrations, with the exception of farmers who leased a farm prior to purchasing one of their own in Ontario, and who subsequently migrated to newly developed territory (Gagan, 1981: 124).

Discussion

Some researchers have argued that these family migrations reflected the desire of parents to maintain the continuity of lineal and intergenerational ties

that locating to a region where they would be able to settle sons in geographical proximity would make possible (Gagan, 1981; Henretta, 1978: 27). While this is probably true, there was, however, no guarantee that sons would be able to acquire contiguous homesteads or even stay in the new region, and in many cases they migrated on their own to settlements some distance from their parents' homesteads (Elliott, 1988: 189-192).

In terms of the structure of family relationships, the effect of such migrations on attitudes toward equality between siblings may have be of greater significance than those pertaining to liberty between generations. While we are not dealing with transmission of parental property per se, fathers were providing equal opportunities for sons to establish themselves at a relatively low cost on their own homesteads. While it is reasonably well-established that in rural regions of Europe where absolute nuclear families dominated, parents did attempt to provide equally for all of their children, the degree of uncertainty that circumstances would allow for such an equitable provision precluded the emergence of systematic equality between brothers. Equality was contingent on material circumstances. In the case of migrating absolute nuclear families, however, while a degree of uncertainty was still involved, the risk of failure was considerably less than would have been the case had migration not occurred. A significant point that is shown more clearly in the data on North Irish Tipperary families is that at least some of the men in families whose fathers had been able to acquire farms for all of the male children later migrated with their own sons to regions where they could in theory do the same for their sons. Thus far no data are available which would suggest that solidarity among brothers was either stronger or weaker for families who undertook such migrations, although the very lack of such data suggests that the situation vis a vis fraternal solidarity had not changed, or at least did not approach that noted for egalitarian nuclear families.

For families who did not elect to migrate even if they were able to, systematic and arbitrary inequality of the type noted for authoritarian families does not seem to have been a consequence. Although there may have been an increasing trend towards keeping a property in the same family as the century progressed, there is no evidence indicating that any of the sons felt compelled to assume responsibility for the land if they had other aspirations.

What does distinguish these farmers as a group is the slight increase in the degree of authority the father was able to exercise, which was very likely a consequence of the increased interdependence of parents and children in a social and economic context where mechanisms that allowed for the relatively early separation of generations were poorly developed or entirely absent. In this respect, it was not so much that the authority of the father was highlighted but more that the notion of liberty was eroded and therefore these families "look" more like egalitarian nuclear families as far as relations between the generations are concerned.

For persisting families, the obligations of the inheriting son to the residual heirs, which often entailed taking out a mortgage on the property, placed a heavier burden on that son than was usually required in European regions where this form of family was found. Responsibility for providing for the non-heirs was thus transferred from the father to the inheriting son. The authority of a dead father nevertheless does not appear to have approached the authority of a living household head in an authoritarian family system, and therefore it is reasonable to assume that in cases where a father had not made arrangements for minor children prior to his death that most older siblings would have made some arrangement for their welfare anyway.

The experiences of English, as in the case of the French-Canadians, and, it would seem, the Scots, reveals that the impact on the family of the broader social context is of more import than Todd allows. Within the English family system, two sets of practices, neither of then inconsistent with Todd's ideal-typical model of the absolute nuclear family, appear to have gained greater prominence in Canada.

While conclusions about the practices of historical families vis a vis residence rules and the provisions land-holding parents made for their children cannot be considered definitive, the degree of consistency of practices within the three groups selected does suggest that some options were considered acceptable and viable and others were not. Although specific local circumstances did impose constraints, responses to these external circumstances were not simply reactions; as in any human system, the nature of

the reaction, the range of options available or considered, the making of value judgements and the subsequent choice between possibilities are shaped as much by internal dynamics as by external events (Ortner, 1988: 159). Thus practices which on the surface appear to be identical may be motivated by different goals in some cases resulting in a shift in the structuring of relationships, and in others their maintenance.

[1] But see McLean *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), Pp .177, 201, where she describes the land acquisition strategies of Highland immigrants. Between 1784 and 1816 sons in Glengarry county apparently did accept free grants in their own names, settling on lots adjacent to those of their fathers. Unfortunately no information about the residence, farm management or inheritance practices of these immigrants are available.

[2] See for example, E.A. Hammel, "The Yugoslav Family in the Modern World: Adaptation to Change." *Journal of Family History* 9(3), 1984, 217- ; and W. A. Douglass, "The Joint Family Household in Eighteenth Century Southern Italian Society." in *The Family in Italy*, D. Kertzer and R. Saller (eds.), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[3] According to Little *Crofters and Habitants* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) P. 24, in the initial settlement period it was not unusual for several different combinations of family members to live together temporarily in the same house regardless of what the normal residence pattern might be.

[4] Highlanders who emigrated to Cape Breton Island and to New Zealand apparently followed a pattern of close-cousin and sibling exchange marriages. See Maureen Molloy, "No Inclination to Mix With Strangers': Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton Island and New Zealand, 1800-1916." *Journal of Family History* 11 (1986): 221-243.

[5] Richard Wall, "Introduction." in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, R. Wall, J. Robin, and P. Laslett (eds.), (New York: Cambridge University Press), P. 11, citing Le Play, notes that in European regions where this form of family was common, non-inheriting children who married were often permitted to build a house and use part of the parental land in lieu of a cash settlement.

[6] According to B. Lisa Groger, "Peasants and Policy: Comparative Perspectives on Aging," R. Hall and C. Stack (eds.), *Holding onto the Land and the Lord* (Athens Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1982), in the Massif Central region of France attempts by policymakers to restructure the pattern of landholding in this authoritarian family region, by offering pre-retirement and retirement premiums to older farmers have been largely unsuccessful. Although the members of the senior generation have officially retired, and authority has been granted to the son through state intervention, this has had no effect on residence patterns. Three generations continue to live together, and in many cases actual management of the farm is not transmitted to the son. The sons in these cases are even less able to leave the region as they are officially responsible for the debts associated with the farm. The pensions granted to the senior generation are not used to support them independently but are plowed back into production.

[7] In Normandy free peasant lands had survived since the early Middle Ages untouched by feudal lordship. The legal assumption was that land was allodial in the absence of proof to the contrary.

[8] Under Roman-Dutch systems of law, community of property makes the husband and wife coparceners in the conjugal fund established at the time of marriage. Except for the land owned separately by a man and a women before their marriage, all possessions, including land acquired after marriage, is jointly owned. Under English Common law, until the mid-nineteenth century, title to a woman's property was transferred to her husband at the time of marriage, although formally he could not sell her freehold land without her consent.

[9] According to P. Garigue, "The French Canadian Family," M. Wade (ed.) *Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1960), P. 191, in some communities inheritance continued to be divided between all siblings, irrespective of sex, until the end of the nineteenth century.

[10] Noel, "Seigneurial Survey and Land Granting Policies" in *Canadian Papers in Rural History V*, D. Akenson (ed.), (Gananoque ON: Gage, 1986), P. 162 notes that the siegneur ceded additional lots to these families with the understanding that they would be used by the sons as well as the fathers but apparently the timing of legal transfer to the sons was left to the discretion of the father.

[11] According to Little, *Crofters* Pp. 80-93, average completed family size for the French-Canadian population of Winslow,when infant mortality is taken into account, was approximately 7.8 for this period as compared to approximately 7.6 for the Scots in the same township. In Peel County in Upper Canada the average number of children per family was 6 or 7. Differences in the number of children per family who survived to adulthood was not extreme although the difficulty of providing for one or two additional children should not be underestimated. What sets the French-Canadian population apart from the others during the nineteenth century was not family size per se but high nuptuality rates coupled with large family size.

[12] Historical demographers have found that in all but a few ethnic groups in North America there was a reduction in the age at marriage which along with a somewhat better diet than available in the old country led to an increase in fertility. Thus it was not unusual for older siblings to be married while their younger siblings were still infants. See for example, Daniel Scott Smith, "American Family and Demographic Patterns and the Northwest European Model." *Continuity and Change* 8(3), 1989, 389-415, and Robina Quale, *Families in Context* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

[13] In his study of family migration to Prescott County Ontario in 1850's, Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), P. 42, notes that, based on the number of Quebec-born children enumerated, these families had been established for at least ten years before emigrating.

[14] Not all families migrated to rural regions; rural to urban migration was not uncommon. According the B. Bradbury, "Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870's," *Historical Papers*, (Canadian Historical Association, 1979) P. 82-83, the textile industry in particular advertised in rural newspapers for whole families of "green labour". It is possible that some of the families who migrated to the cities for this work included those whose families did not have the resources to set them up, as well as those whose farming operations were unsuccessful for one reason or another. It is not

known whether these migrations were intended to be temporary as was the case for the Quebec families who migrated to work in the New England textile factories, or if the intention of these families was to return to farming when adequate cash had been accumulated.

[15] According to Little, *Crofters*, P.41, migration of brothers-in-law may have been a significant component of extended family migrations; however, the genealogical research required to establish this is often not possible as in most cases the maiden names of women are not documented in settlement or census records.

[16] Richard Wall, "Introduction.", P. 22-24, who has examined economic support channels of young married couples in France in the early nineteenth century does not record any instances of siblings directly assisting one another in this manner although this does not preclude the possibility that siblings provided other forms of support or assistance to each other.

[17] See for example Marzio Barbagli, "Three Household Formation systems in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Italy," D. Ketzer and R. Saller (eds.) *The Family in Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), for Sardinia.

[18] This material does not include a discussion of intergenerational transfers among the Welsh population as little research into the specific inheritance and succession practices of the peasantry or lower classes is available. Joan Thirsk notes, in "The European Debate on Customs of Inheritance, 1500-1700" In *Family and Inheritance:Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800,* Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and Richard Wall (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), Pp 187-188, among the upper classes parental property was commonly divided equally among children although whether this included daughters as well as sons is not clear (Thirsk, 1976: 187-88).

[19] According to Richard Wall, " The Household: Demographic and Economic Change in England, 1650-1970." in *Family Forms in Historic Europe,* R. Wall, J. Robin, and P. Laslett (eds.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Pp. 501-502, by 1850 farmers in grain producing areas began to switch from using live-in servants to day labour. However, in mixed farming regions live-in servants continued to be common.

[20] Although acknowledging that the English-speaking population of Prescott county was comprised of people who originated in Ireland, Scotland, England, and Canada and the U.S., Chad Gaffield *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987) does not look at differences within this population, thus data that could be used to infer the structuring of family relations is either incomplete or lacking in detail. Similarily, while Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) P 178, makes reference to the fact that sons often worked full-time in the lumber industry during the winter, he does not specify how old these sons were, or if the father engaged in this form of seasonal labour as well.

[21] Changes to the laws of inheritance and succession had been the subject of debate since the 1830's in both Upper Canada and in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. See for example, *Substance of Mr. Bidwell's Speech: On the Second Reading of His Intesttne (sic) Estate Bill in the Session of 1832* (S.I., 1832?). Bidwell argued not only for equal

division of real estate among all children but also that the parents of intestates who leave no children should inherit the estate in preference to other kindred. The upward devolution of property is not normally found in absolute nuclear family regions.

22 Bruce Elliott, P. 198, in *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), argues that this system operated in Canada in much the same way as in England.

23 According to Marvin McInnis, "Comment on Paper by Gagan" *Journal of Economic History*, 36(1) (1977), 142-146, p. 144-45, in New England and other parts of the U.S., where partible settlements were more common, farms were infrequently broken up; rather, one heir would assume the mortgage debt and buy out the legatees. In these cases the heirs, not the father, were in control of the process, and the heirs who gave up their interest in the real property were able to negotiate their own settlements. See also J. A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalite* in Pre-Industrial America *William and Mary Quarterly* 35(1) (1978), P. 28.

24 According to Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict*, (Kingston: McGill-Kingston University Press, 1987), P. 50, approximately 53 per cent of anglophones who emigrated from Alfred Township between 1851 and 1861 left with parents or children. Unfortunately no information is included, or may not exist, to indicate why these families were leaving.

25 According to John Bennett, *Time and Enterprise* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), P. 116, in the late nineteen sixties and early seventies, brothers who lived on adjoining farms in southern Saskatchewan were no more inclined to provide assistance to one another than were unrelated neighbours, even when such cooperation would have alleviated labour shortages or other problems. While Bennett notes only that these farmers were primarily from the United States and Ontario, the data he provides suggests that relations in these families at the level of practice and ideals are those one would expect to find in absolute nuclear families.

Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusions

Having described the family practices of some of the Highland Scots, French-Canadian, and English settlers in Canada for the 150 year period ending in the 1880's, and analyzed these practices using the ideal-typic family models developed by Emmanuel Todd, this chapter summarizes the findings of that examination and assesses the usefulness of Todd's models for this kind of research.

Summary

The inheritance practices, coresidence patterns, and seasonal and permanent migration patterns of the Highland Scots who were settled in a marginal agricultural region in the mid-nineteenth century, when taken together suggest that the values associated with an ideal-typic authoritarian family model - respect for authority, and systematic inequality of brothers - were maintained over a thirty year period in Canada. In regions settled during an earlier period of settlement, the systematic inequality of brothers was likely somewhat ameliorated because of the relative ease with which non-inheriting sons could acquire land after they had fulfilled their obligations to their families of orientation, initially in locations close to the farms of their parents, and later in adjacent regions. Decision-making power within the families of the Highland Scots appears to have continued to be vested in the head of the family, however by the mid-nineteenth century non-inheriting sons in these regions as seem to have increasingly settled permanently in locations some distance away from the father, and the normally latent individualism associated with this family form may have emerged as a positive attribute in environments where this family form was not common.

While some modifications in the practices of French-Canadian families with respect to intergenerational transmission and coresidence occurred during the first two hundred years of settlement on the seigneuries, these changes in practice appear to have been made with the intention of maintaining the principles of equality between brothers and the independence of the generations

and are consistent with the values underlying egalitarian nuclear families. As demographic increase and economic conditions in the early nineteenth century reduced the availability of land on the seigneuries, some changes in the structuring of relationships between family members, or rather the emphasis placed on various sets of relationships seems to have occurred. French-Canadians who elected, or felt compelled to migrate in order to establish themselves and their children in newly opened regions adopted a form of migration that involved multiple moves each apparently encompassing or involving several related nuclear family units. While this form of migration does not seem to have been accompanied by a significant change in attitudes towards or about the independence of the generations, relations between brothers, predicated on the assumption of equality, seem to have been strengthened suggesting that solidarity of the extended family rather than the individual families. For families living in marginal agricultural regions of Quebec, and who remained sedentary, again the relationship between generations does not seem to have been significantly altered although more emphasis may have been placed on this principle. The emphasis placed on the principle of equality, however may have been reduced, as at the level of practice, the possibility of actually establishing brothers equally was relatively remote in these regions.

The most noticeable and immediate effect of immigration to Canada for English families or those whose family relations seem to correspond to an ideal typic absolute nuclear family model, and who settled in rural regions was the relative delay in the separation of the generations. Nevertheless, this delay does not seemed to have had an appreciable effect on the emphasis given to the value of liberty or independence during the period when land for succeeding generations was comparatively abundant although the role of the father in achieving this end was somewhat more direct than was the case in England. As the pace of immigration and the commercialization of agriculture accelerated in the mid-nineteenth century, the migration of established farmers to newly opened colonization zones for the purpose of establishing maturing sons came to be seen as a viable solution to the problems created by an expanding population and increased land prices. Again, although positive action was taken to ensure that the independence of the generations was maintained, an unintended consequence of making such a move to regions where farms of standard size were readily available, may have been to encourage a subtle shift

in attitudes toward the equality of brothers, although this would not necessarily have been the case. For families who persisted in Ontario, the manner in which they devised their estates strongly suggests that the possibility of accepting an absolute break between the generations was not viewed as tenable given that the farms had been developed with the assistance of their children. While economic and other external circumstances in Ontario did not favour the equal treatment of brothers there does not seem to have been an increased tendency favouring systematic inequality either.

The family structures of each of the ethnocultural groups examined appear to have evolved in a slightly different manner in the Canadian context, as people adjusted to the continuous changes in their immediate social environments, but while some variation in the practices within each group appear to have emerged as a response to economic circumstances, it does not appear that there was any generalized movement towards the emergence of a single homogeneous Canadian family structure that can account for all of the values that have occasionally been described as being peculiar to Canadians. Nor is there any clear correspondence between those values and the constellation of values identified by Todd as being associated with any one ideal-typic family model.

Perhaps the most significant aspects of the findings of this study are that the empirical evidence seems to support the notion that diversity in family structure is not a recent phenomena in Canada; that the variations in practices noted for the families within each type may have had unintended or unanticipated consequences with respect to the degree of emphasis placed on specific values by people who made specific choices; that in some cases these changes in emphasis or meanings might have had the effect of diminishing some of the differences in values or orientations between groups whose family structures in European contexts conformed to different ideal-types; and lastly, with respect to the relationship between family structure and political structure, these findings suggest that because of historical circumstances, the Canadian variant of democracy has always reflected or incorporated the principles and values associated with multiple ideal-type family models.

A more comprehensive comparison of the values and principles that appear to have informed either the practices of the families within the groups examined, or between these groups is not possible as such an analysis requires more historical and empirical data than is currently available in published form. Nevertheless, I have attempted to indicate areas where there may have been some overlap or blurring of the distinctions between groups in figure 2, below. For example the area of overlap between the figures representing absolute nuclear and egalitarian nuclear is meant to indicate that if over time the principle of equality became more salient for the former the constellation of values would come to resemble that of the egalitarian nuclear families. In the same manner, if the principle of equality was eroded or de-emphasized by families whose values at a conscious level corresponded to an egalitarian nuclear model might at a more unconscious level express values more in line with absolute nuclear families.

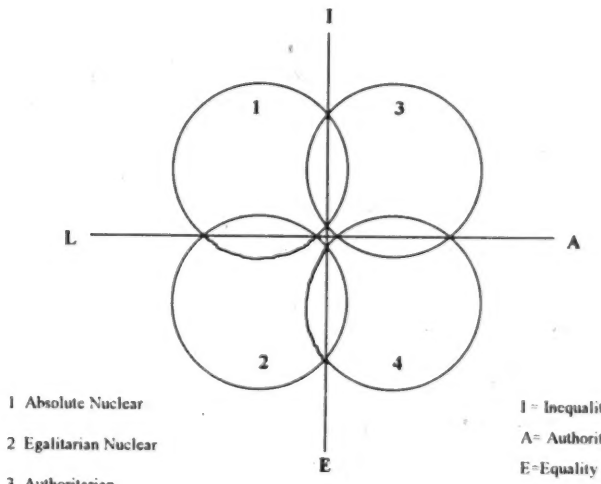

Figure 2. Processual Depiction of Todd's Ideal-Type Family Structures

Critique and Assessment of Todd's Analytic Models

The most obvious strength of Todd's analytic framework is that it allows for a more rigorous analysis and comparison of values associated with particular family formations that other cultural features may obscure and thus facilitates the kind of middle-level theorizing and interpretation that distinguishes anthropological approaches from those of other disciplines. This analytical framework is, however, problematic in some respects although some of the limitations are relatively minor. An obvious problem with this framework as it stands is that even though Todd does not ignore the issue of gender relations, the diagnostic criteria used to make distinctions between the various family types refer exclusively to the relationships between fathers and sons and between brothers. This has the unfortunate effect of rendering women invisible and creates the impression that female inheritance became common only with the rise of modern nation states. While Todd's reasons for excluding criteria that are inclusive of women are not known, this omission does not appear to be related in any obvious way to the manner in which property was actually devolved in particular historical societies at the time mass politics were introduced. As noted in Chapter Four, in many regions of Europe and in some Asian societies women as well as men inherited and transmitted both real and moveable property. Nor is it likely that this problem can be satisfactorily resolved by substituting gender neutral terms for gendered terms in these models. That the rules for devolving the property of intestates varied with the gender of the heirs in nineteenth century Common Law for example seems to suggest that these issues are not straightforward or simple. Another limitation involves the manner in which Todd has presented his models and is a function of the static nature of most ideal-typic models. While the reasons for presenting the models in this manner are understood, it may cause one to lose sight of the fact that the authority/liberty and equality/inequality axes, as well as being continua, may vary independently of one another. A simple re-presentation of Todd's diagrammatic depiction of the four original ideal-type family models, as is shown in figure 2., is one way of overcoming this limitation. Such a presentation also suggests how, over time, transformations in family structures and values might occur as practices are transformed or changed.

A further problem is Todd's assertion of a seemingly straightforward relationship between specific dominant family types and specific forms of political ideologies and his further assertion that there will be a similar correlation between secondary family forms within a state and the emergence of secondary political ideologies. While such relationships may be relatively easy to see in historical European regions where political boundaries of one kind or another frequently did correspond to regions where specific family types were dominant, Todd's apparent assumption that such was also the case in the New World and in other regions colonized by Europeans and under the political control of European states is less easy to sustain. As the Canadian case seems to demonstrate, aside from Quebec (until the late eighteenth century) and Nova Scotia, political boundaries have from the earliest periods encompassed several family types at any one time without giving rise to what could be obviously referred to as dominant and secondary political ideologies.

Coresidence of parents and married children appears to be on the decline in most Western societies but it cannot be assumed that this change in practice has automatically led to a higher value being placed on liberty between the generations. Close attention will likely have to be given to determining variations in the degree of consultation between generations when major decisions need to be taken and if the advice given by parents to their married children seems to be routinely followed or taken into consideration.

Conclusions

As there appears to have been a minimum of three family types represented in Canada from the late eighteenth century, and as each of these is associated with a specific constellation of values, the possibility that all of the early groups of settlers, either European- or Canadian-born, would have subscribed to the same set of values seems remote. Even if it is assumed that some areas of commonality existed, it is doubtful that there would have been any widespread agreement even within a particular ethnocultural group, as to which of these values were more fundamental or basic, or representative of Canadian character. Canada was the creation of diverse peoples with disparate views who were willing to cooperate with one another and tolerate some degree of difference as long as these differences were not perceived as interfering with the achievement of their own ends. The values that Lipset identifies, at a very high level of abstraction, as characterizing Canadians, may reflect this accommodation to some extent, although the values isolated by this author may be largely illusory. Because the various groups living within Canada subscribed to different value systems, there may have been a tendency to avoid any confrontations that might have jeopardized the one common goal shared by most of them, to secure the futures of both themselves and their children.

The vagueness about core Canadian values, and the apparent inability or unwillingness of people involved in current debates invoking these values to explicitly define them may be grounded in the fact that there is an implicit awareness that there is no set of values that all Canadians would agree to. This ambiguity with respect to Canadian values has both positive and negative consequences.

The positive aspect lies in the fact that families organized along different lines in accordance with different sets of values are able to preserve their own sense of order. This does not mean that the values associated with particular family systems are of no importance, as the orientations that particular sets of values produce likely have some bearing on the range of options considered when dealing with matters relevant the public interest. Nor does it mean that relations between groups whose families are structured in accordance with different values are not conflicted. One of the potentially negative aspects of this ambiguity is that debates affecting the public welfare may be couched in terms of the logic derived from domains such as contract law or economics which take the abstract individual as their point of reference. Such discourse, while apparently neutral in tone, minimizes the importance of exchanges between groups, including families, to the reproduction of society, and the maintenance of democracy.

Future Studies

The findings of this preliminary study suggest that a more intensive examination of family structures in localized regions of Canada may well produce evidence that such relationships, while not determinitive of political processes, may have a greater influence on the content of political debates and the manner in which public issues are resolved than is generally recognized. Such studies must include archival research to identify historical patterns in family practices of members of ethnocultural communities who shared similar family structures prior to immigration, complemented by ethnographic research focussing on the structuring of the family relationships of subsequent generations within these ethnocultural groups. Comparative studies of manner in which otherwise distinctive ethnocultural groups whose family relations appear to have been structured in the same manner in agrarian settings are needed in order to establish whether practices maintained or adopted in response to changed conditions were informed by specific constellations of values. Ethnographic examination of questions dealing with the unintended consequences of these practices with respect to shifts in the emphasis placed on certain values and changes or transformations in ideas about the most desirable means of achieving specific ends are critical, as ethnographic methods permit researchers

to distinguish between statements of norms and ideas from people's behaviour in a way not possible using archival materials or survey-based methods alone.

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